Editorial Observations of Swami Shraddhananda

Forwarded by
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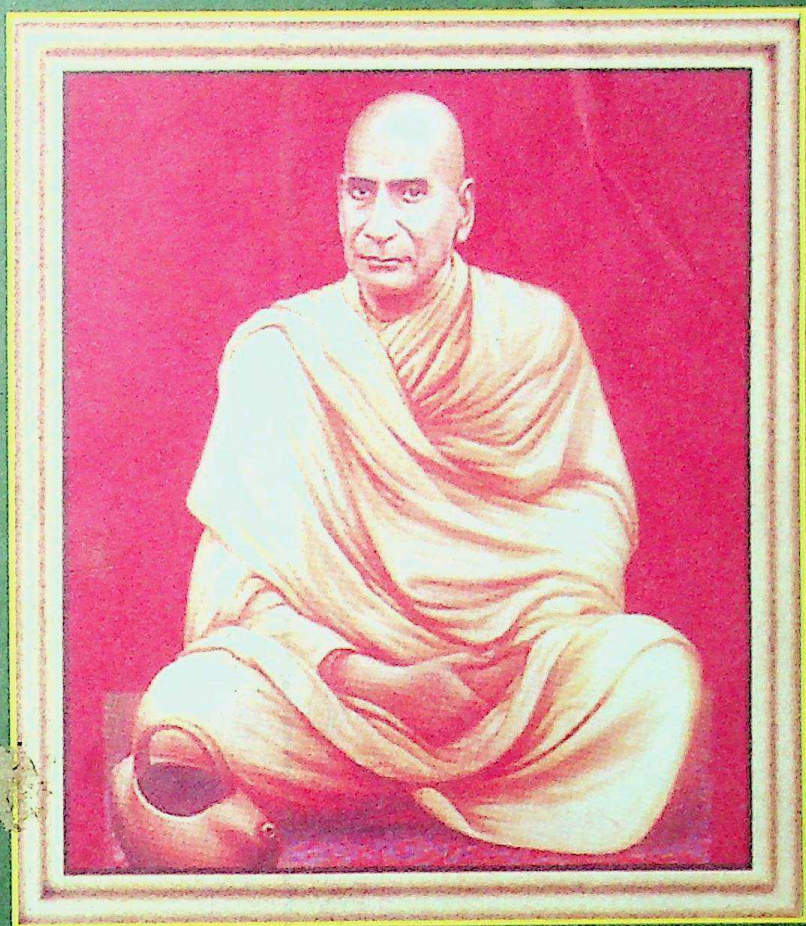
Chief Editor
Prof. Ved Prakash Shastri

Editor
Dr. Krishna Avtar Agarwal
Dr. Jagdish Vidyalankar

The Founder of Gurukula

Mahatma Munshi Ram Ji

(Swami Shraddhananda)

I founded this institution not to produce deputy commissioners, the slaves of the British government but the aim of the establishment of this institution is to create those graduates who may sacrifice their lives to rescue their nation from the curse of slavery.

Acharya Munshiram (Swami Shraddhananda)

If any modern artist would like to take a live model for making the picture of Jesus Christ, I shall indicate towards this splendid picuture of Swami Shraddhananda.

Mac Donald
Former British Prime Minister

The best result of Aryasamaj is to be seen the foundation and management of the institution of Gurukula. Its influence is due to encouraging presence of Mahatma Munshiram.

M.K. Gandhi

If you want to be free from the worldly calmities, then not only the progress of science is compulsory but the progress of literature art, interest in study and intellect also must be progressive. This university, like a beacon light, is pointing towards the same direction.

Dr. Radhakrishnan

Your Gurukula is a new type of school with an ancient method. When there in Indian was the prevalence of English among all the schools and colleges and the education was being given through English medium, the foresighted founder Swami Shraddhananda dicided to give the classical education through Hindi medium.

Mahamahim Dr. Rajendra Prasad

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2006

Shree Swami Shraddhananda
Anusandhan Prakashan Kendra
Gurukul Kangri, Haridwar

PREFACE

'Editorial Observations Of Swami Shraddhananda' is a yeoman's service in the field of historiography Swami Shraddhanada Saraswati's *'vision and thought'*. The present work is a laudable effort to present his views on contemporary politics, religion, education, literature and social reforms etc, which we find in his editorials and editorial notes of *'The Liberator'* which had been edited by this great nationalist.

The British Empire received a severe blow by the firing articles in *'Kesari'* of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. *'Bharat Mitra'* of Balmakund Gupt and *'Sad-Dharma Pracharak'* (in Urdu), *'Shraddha'*, (in Hindi); and *'The Liberator'* (in English) of Sanyasi Shraddhananda. These papers are full of national feelings in the hearts of the young people of the country. The editorials of Swamiji in his three weekly papers are worthy to be read by the young and old alike who want to know the real senario of India before independence. The editorials and critical comments of the two papers edited in Urdu and Hindi have already been published by Prof. Vishnu Dutt 'Rakesh' with the title *"Swami Shraddhananda Ki Sampadekiya Tippani"* (Publishing Centre, Gurukul Kangri Hardwar 1999). The remaining paper *'The Liberator'* has been covered in the present book.

The editorials and critical comments of Swamiji had a great impact on the nationalists of the country during the 'Gandhi-Nehru Era.' The collection of such editorials and critical comments is a need to understand the 'Vision and Thoughts' of Swami Shraddhananda Saraswati. No work of such nature has been done before it. This book is a landmark publication by the

university. Swami Sharaddhananda was the great grand father of Indian journalism. The present generation should have a glorious pride of this great impresasario of religious society, culture and education. We can not understand Balgangadhar Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi without reading the editorials and critical comments of this great soul of India. Sanyasi Shraddhananda was the central figure of the triangle-congress, Muslim-League and Hindu Mahasabha. He played a vital role in the anti - Rowlatt agitation, Hindu-Muslim unity, Shuddhi-movement against conversion, removal of untouchability, rejuvenation of Hinduism and Swaraj movement etc.

The scholars of his Gurukul were greatly impressed with his journalism. Satyadev Vidyalankar, Satyakam Vidyalankar, Chandra Gupta Vidyalankar, Ram Gopal Vidyalankar, Deenanath Siddhantalankar, Yudhishthir Vidyalankar, Yagya Dutt Vidyalankar, Chhitiz Vedalankar, Brahma Dutt Vidyalankar and Krishna Chandra Mehta are among great journalists of India who are the products of his ideal Vishwavidyalaya. *'Dharmyug'* and *'Navneet'* of Satyakam, *'Aajkal, Vishvadarshan'*, and *'Sarika'* of Chandra Gupta, *'Pratibha'* of Narendra Vidyavachaspati, *'Abhiyan'* of Pratap Vidyalankar, *'Prakar'* of Vidyasagar Vidyalankar; *'Vedic Vigyan'* of Vishwanath Vidyalankar have greatly added rich treasury of Hindi journalism. His editorials and critical comments have been written in a chaste and comprehensive English language in *'The Liberator'*, They bring the pure water of The Ganga to cure the ills of the contemporary India. In the historiography of national freedom movement his editorials and critical comments are very important.

'Editorial Observations Of Swami Shraddhananda', is an important publication among the *'Prakashan Granth Yojna'*, of the Vishwavidyalaya. I congratulate Editor Dr. Krishna Avtar Agrawal, Dr. Jagdish Vidyalankar for bringing out such an excellent and unique work. I am sure the reprinting of editorials and critical comments of Swami Shraddhananda, from the *'The Liberator'* started by him in April 1926, eight months prior to his

assassination at the hands of a religious fanatic on 23 December 1926, will bring to light a glorious but sadly forgotton chapter of the long struggle of the Indian people to win *'Poorna - Swarajya'* which yet remains to be worked for, even after fifty-nine years of the attainment of political freedom.

Prof. Swatantra Kumar
Vice-
Chancellor Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, Hardwar.

SHRADDHANANDA
THE PIONEER OF JOURNALISM

Swami Shraddhananda was not only a reformer, religious leader, freedom fighter and a great educationalist, but he was also a vigilant journalist of his time. He edited and published the *'Saddharm Prachark'*, *'The Sharddha'* and *'The Liberator'*. papers in Urdu, Hindi and English languages respectively from 1889 to 1926.

He joined the Congress on the request of Mahatma Gandhi at the time of non-coperation and freedom movements against the British Rulers. His disciples and followers fought against British Government under his dynamic leadership. He left the Congress party on some basic differences with Gandhiji but his deep love and respect for him did not diminish. He had cognate, intimate and harmonious relations with him throught his life. Swami Shraddhanda, Mahatma Gandhiji and Lokmanya Tilak, The Big Trio-nationalists, had great influence on the contemporary politics.

नराशंसमिह प्रियमस्मिन्यज्ञ उपह्वये।
मधुजिह्वं हविष्कृतम् ऋ। 1.13.3

This vaidika hymn illustrate that a man of super human values may be categoraised as 'NARASHAMSA' that means, the one praised by all people, the sweet tongued, completely dedicated, and the giver of Natures gift. Swamy Shraddhanand is such type of a man who comes in the category of 'Narashamsa' as this mantra depicts.

In *'The Liberator'* Swamiji has devoted 27 editorials on the Congress with the title 'In and out of the Congress' and other critical comments on contemporary issues comments and in these editorials and critical comments he has observed the congress minutely and narrated its merits and demerits impartially. This 'editorial-series' and critical comments are thought-provoking, contemplative, reflective, apprehensive, speculative, rational, useful and most delightful.

Editor Dr. KrishnaAvtar Agarwal and Dr. Jagdish Vidyalankar deserve special compliments for reprinting and editing the valuable thoughts on the contemporary politics of the founder of The Gurukul Kangri Institution in the form of a book. I propose to have more publications on the 'Vision and Thought' of this great rishi of the Gurukul and the Arya Samaj from time to time. So that the devotees and lovers of Swami Shraddhananda Saraswati will be in position to comprehand and understand his ideals.

I hope the readers and researchers will be mostly benifitted with this rare, excellent and unique work.

Ved Prakash Shastri
Acharya & Pro-Vice Chancellor
Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya,
Hardwar (U.A.)

EDITORIAL

Whenever the topics of the redemption from untouchability: the rejuvenation of Hinduism; the attainment of Sawaraj; girls' education; denouncement of casteism and child marriage, strong support of widow remarriage and protection of orphans are discussed, the name of their pioneer, Swami Shraddhananda, stands out. He was an ardent disciple of Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. He was the only disciple of the great Rishi who blossomed fully and completely, absorbing all the aspects of the ancient Aryan ideals. He reproclaimed the wisdom of the Vedas and saved the Hindu society by the power of his Karma tapasya. Simple life and spiritual aspirations were the two essentials of his life goal. He stands in all and full colours of a model disciple in his Guru-worship, in his love for India and his country-men dedication in serving for his country's cause. To him Rishi Dayananda was a unique Guru.

He was the leader of the Gurukula section of the Arya Samaj. He established the famous 'Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya' on the pious bank of the Holy Ganga at Haridwar. He was the first leader of the country who founded with the co-operation of Lala Devi Raj the Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Jullundur in the last decade of the 19th century. From a lawyer, a Deputy Tahsildar and a staunch atheist he turned himself to a great Arya Samajist after hearing a lecture by Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. Since then (1902), he devoted all his time to the works of the Arya Samaj and laboured to bring up the system of Gurukul

education. He had pioneered in imparting instructions in Hindi at the collegiate level.

He had immense faith in the Arya Samaj and the value of Vedic and Sanskrit studies. He founded the 'Dalit Uddhar Sabha' in Delhi, played an important role in the anti-Rowlatt agitation, became the chairman of the reception committee of the Amritsar Conference of the Congress in 1919 and participated in the Non - Coopration Movement for which he was inprisoned in 1922.

Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati believed in journalism. He considered it a principal organ of the revolution of thoughts and ideas because it is the best media to reach the public. Swami Shraddhananda like his 'Divine - Guru' had deep faith in journalism and he made it his mission of life. He took the shelter of journalism to send the Indian people. His first Urdu Weekly 'Sad-Dharam Pracharak' of eight pages was published on Feb. 19, 1889 with an editorial of Sh. Devraj and its key-article was written by Swami Shraddhananadaji himself. Though its medium was Urdu language but its nature and style was based on Sanskrit-Hindi journals. The paper was devoted to the topics of traditional and contemporary religions, politics and education. It was brought out successfully for nearly 18 years (from 1889 to 1906). The following lines from the letter of an Arya Samajist proved a turning-point of this Urdu-Weekly into a Hindi-paper:

"Swamiji ! you claim to be a true disciple of Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati, but he has written his whole literature in Hindi, then why do you bringout your weekly 'Sad - dharma Pracharaka' in Urdu language?"

The first edition of the *'Sad-dharma Pracharak'* was published in Hindi in 1996. It was the first weekly-paper in Hindi in the Panjab which advocated Vedic literature, Aryan culture and Aryan principles. The language of the 'Sad - dharma Pracharak' was chaste-Hindi. The Urdu dominating area of the Panjab for the first time tasted the pure-water of Hindi. The great writer of the Panjab Sh. Santram B.A.

accepted with pride that he learnt Hindi only after continuous reading the issues of the *'Sad-dharma Pracharak'*. Poet Pt. Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya has praised this paper in the following lines:

उर्दू छुड़ाके हिन्दी का नक्शा जमा दिया,
पंजाब की जुबान को भाषा बना दिया।

In 1908 the *'Sad-dharma Pracharak'* press was shifted to the Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar from where this was published under the managership of Pt. Anantram Sharma. On the visit of King George V at Delhi the paper was published as a Daily News Paper under the editorship of Swamiji's son Pt. Indra Vidyavachaspati. But after its ten daily issues it was again made a weekly paper.

Swami Shraddhananda published another weekly paper 'Shraddha' from Gurukul Kangri in 1920. The first issue of it came out on 23rd April, 1920. This paper was devoted to Hindu-Muslim unity. In the issue of the 'Shraddha' (Nov. 19, 1920)Maulana Shokat Ali, a great leader of Muslims, said:

"God knows that the Aryan-brothers have helped us with open hearts in the Khilafat-Movement. Their co-operation has touched us deeply. The hearts of Swami Shradhanada, Swami Satyadev and so many others Aryan-brothers are full of great love and sympathy for us. They realize pains and troubles of Muslim brothers. We have been fully convinced that the Aryan-work is full based on humanity where there is no partiality between man and man. All are sons and daughters of Allah for them. We have seen this with our open eyes."

In the issue of the "Shraddha" (Feb, 1922) there are some columns which show the differences of Swamiji with M.K. Gandhi. Being disheartened Gandhiji postponed the 'Chawra-Chawri Movement' which Swamiji did not like. He also could not understand the non-co-operation of Gandhiji in this movement. He wrote this in the issue of 13th August 1920 of the "Shraddha". In the same way he also thought

'the Calcutta-Conference of no importance, which he narrated in the issue of the "Shraddha" (17th Septenber, 1920) Swamiji was disappointed to see that in the conference the problems of the untouchables were not taken up. His 'Shraddha' was a fearless and audacious paper. It criticised in strong words the inhuman massacre at Jalian-Wala Bagh by Mr. General Dyer; cruelities and unjust acts of Mr. Jonson at Amritsor and Lahore. Swamiji published the following lines of Poet Anand Nidhi against the devilish act of General Dyer:

बेदाग हो गये बे दागा था जिनको तूने,
सब दाग आ लगे हैं तेरे दहन पै डायर।

Swamiji was a great supporter of 'Hindu-Muslim unity'. He had full respect and regard for the Muslim-scholars. He wrote a befitting 'Tribute' on the death of Sheikh Ulihind Maulana Mahmuddul Hussain, the great lover of Hindu-Muslim unity, in the issue of the 'Shraddha'. His keynote address at the Inaugural Ceremony of the Aligarh Muslim University stamped his great sholorship. The 'Shraddha' was coloured with the feelings of patriotism and 'Swaraj'. It lamented on the pitiable condition of the country. See the following lines published in it:

न धन बचा है न मान कोई, स्वतंत्रता का न नाम कोई,
सुरम्य उद्यान को हमारे, सभी तरह से सुखा रहा है।

Swamiji through his journalism had attempted to save the Hinduism. He tried to trace the causes of its decline. He was unhappy for its present deplorable downfall. On 8th April, 1926 Swami Shraddhananda started his paper *"The Liberator"* under the joint editorship of P.R. Lele, B.A., LL.B. It was an English weekly published at Delhi every Thursday. It brought out 37 issues from 1st April to 16th December, 1926. It stood for the removal of untouchability, the rejuvenation of Hinduism and the attainment of Swaraj as an automatic result of internal growth. It was published in

English for those readers outside the Northem India who wished to remain in touch with the activities of upper India and the Capital of the country. The English Weeldy's main aim was to liberate the untouchables. He had used the English language indispensable for communicating his views to the intelligentsia in the South where the evils existed in the most objectionable and inhuman form. It was full of vigour of style and picturesqueness of language.

'The Liberator' was warmly welcomed by the people of the South. I quote their welcome words as below:

"We welcome the latest edition to our English Weeklies, *'The Liberator'* started by Swami Shraddhanandaji from Delhi in announcing the aims that it will more particularly have before it, gives the foremost place to the problem of the "Untouchables". It also aims at destroying the power of 'cliques' and 'bosses' and to save the villages from the inroads of 'civilisation'. We wish *The Liberator* every sucess and a long career of service to the nation........" (18th April, 1926)

Swamiji believed, like Lokmanya Tilak, 'Swaraj' as their birth right'. Freedom alone is really blessed and it is born of strengh to do and not to do. He said in *'The Liberator'*, 'A freedom is not satisfied with his own monopoly of freedom but stakes his all to make his fellowmen as free as himself. It is of such men that a free community is formed. Of such free communities a free nation is formed. Such free nations go to make a free humanity. One nation in bondage economic or military, physical or mental, forced or voluntary makes a free humanity impossible. One community in bondage makes a free nation impossible". (Swami Shraddhananda; *The Liberator*; Thursday, 1st April, 1926)

The edifice of free India can be constructed only when the untouchables are uplifted and they are given a proper and respective place in the society. The caste-system is the root cause of the curse of untouchability. So he took the problems of the socalled untouchables, through his English Weekly *'The Liberator'*. He was of the opinion that the doctrine of the untouchability is the gangrene of the Hindu policy.

Die hard vanity, deeprooted prejudice, degenerating ignorance and doping superstition are the germs that feed the gangrene. So we have to attack each one of these germs that feed the gangrene and try to get rid of it. Only then the real Hindudom will recover its former strength and vitality and will attain its 'Vedic Purity'. Swamiji believed that when there will be Vadic purity and the rejuvenation of Hinduism, the country will automaticaly disable the jaws of the shark of foreign domination, because India will then possess internal strength which will precede the disappearance of English - Rulers. Except this internal Development there is no other royal road, no magic - wand, no etheral process to achieve Swaraj.

We have to break down conventional barriers of castes and creeds. Swamiji also believed that ' the willing subordination of the people to the dictates of bosses' is equally harmful. When "cliques have continuous exitance, the bosses rise and fall in quick seccession . Individuals change but the institution 'Boss' lives." These bosses had no power of their own. They were supplied that power by imagination that ruled the world. So Swamiji told the people that the craze of willing subordination was an evil which must be stopped. He was shocked to see that a small band of outsiders (White-People) could govern a large country (India) only by an alliance with the indigenous masters who were posted all over the country. The selfish elites of India called them superior classes. These socalled masters always found their interest to link themselves with the governing caste English people. The two together succeeded in driving Indian masses under their yoke only to groan under the weight but were held by their own helplessness. Swamiji through the weekly issues of *'The Liberator'* tried to help them to realise their importance and strength to throw off the foreign-yoke. Only free-India could be saved from inroads and could not be divorced from nature. The villagers would not be enticed to live in cities and desert their villages.

He believed that development is not a compromise but

a continuous onward march. "The mind and the body have both to be developed simultaneously. All the limbs of the body must receive due attention."

Swamiji emphasised upon the work of liberating the suppressed classes through the inspiring columns of his paper. 'The Liberator' tried to liberate villages from the temptation of cities and on the suggestion of M.K. Gandhi, he took the task to introduce spinning wheel among the people to realise the importance of their labour. Gandhiji praised Swamiji's efforts to uplift the suppressed classes of India. I quote the letter of the father of the nation:

"*The Liberator* has an ambitious programme. If it succeeds in any single one of the items emumerated in the notice before me, the journal will have earned the name that Swami Shraddhanandaji has chosen to give his latest creation.

The notice before me rightly places emphasis upon the works of liberating the suppressed classes but there are still more numerous classes held under suppression by our insane desire to clothe ourself in foriegn cloths. And they are not a fifth of the population of India but there are four-fifths and if *'The Liberator'* will liberate villages from the temptation of cities, I venture to suggest that the task is an impossibility without the spinning wheel."

M.K. Gandhi
('The Liberator' Thrusday, 1st April, 1926)

In reply to his paper Swamiji assured him that the charkha would come well within the scheme which he would gradually unfold. *'Swadeshmtira of Madras'* (a Tamil Daily Paper) in its issue dated 12th April, 1926, had praised this paper for its chaste-English and bold editorial remarks:

"....The language is bold, clear and unequivocal. As observed by Gandhiji, if anyone of the objects of *'The Liberator'* be gained by Swami Shraddhanandaji, it would be true to name Liberator. We pray God that He may grant this paper a long life of beneficial Services to India under the guidance of Shraddhanada."

Again *'The Mysore Chronicle'* of Banglore in its issue of 11th April, 1925 writes:

"Swami Shraddhanandaji is a staunch protagonist of the movement for Hindu generation. He is devoutly followed and he is bitterly condemned. This paper serves the real need of keeping people in touch with the thoughts of a great Hindu reformer from week to week."

The present volume covers the socio-political views of the contemporary India of Swamiji. He has written 27 editorials with the title 'In and out of the Congress' where in he has accepted that he has inspired by Mahatama Gandhi to join the Congress party but he left the party on some basic differences with him. He did not like Gandhiji's manner of Satyagrah and again the way of postponing it. He also did not like Gandhiji's way of Muslim-favourism. The last (37th) issue of the *'Liberator'* was brought out on 16th December 1926 and Swamiji was assassinated by a muslim fanatic on 23rd December 1926. Mr. P.R. Lele, the Maharashtrian scholar and joint editor of *'The Liberator'*, brough-out a book with the title 'Inside Congress' in 1946. He edited the political experences of Swamiji in it. Swamiji joined the Congress party in its beginning-stage when it had no vital role in the country and it was considered the party only of the elite group of the society. Some people called it the debating club of well educated people. Swamiji joined this party in 1888 after three years of its birth. In first few articles of this series Swamiji has sketched an interesting picture of the organisation when its working field was very limited. Swamiji has given its romantic description in a very bold and interesting language. Lala Lajpat Roy, Lokmanya Tilak and Vipin Chandra Pal infused a new vigour in the party. Swamiji has described their devoted activities in these articles. In the Surat-Conference the Congress party was divided into two groups-*garam dal and naram dal* Swamiji described the vital role of Lokmanya Tilak in strengthening the party in these editorials.

Swamji has given a detailed account of the circumstances

of the strike against the Rowlett Bill. He was the eye-witness of it. He opposed this Bill strongly and opened his iron - breast before the guns of Gorkha - soldiers at Chandni-Chowk, Delhi and told them challenging that before attacking the innocent people they had to pierce the breast of this Sanyasi with their bullets. The gunmen could not have courage to fire upon him. His boldness tied up the Hindu-Muslim unity. He became the emperor of the Hindus and the Muslims without a crown. He was the first and the last Hindu-Leader in the history of India who addressed the masses of both the communities from the Jumma Masjid because the Muslim brothers knew that a real Sanyasi is above the narrow cells of caste and creed. He is the citizen of the whole world.

Unfortunately, in his life-time he had to see with his painful eyes the roits between Hindus and Muslimes which he has narrated in *'The Liberator'*. He was sad to see hate between the people of these two communities. He could accept the Khilafat movement of the Congress in a limited way. When this movement could not succeed the muslims began to draw themselves away from the main stream of national movement. Swamiji had boldly written this in his editorials with the title- "In and Out of the Congress". He had unhesitatingly written that Gandhiji had a very liberal attitude for Muslims. He favoured them and recommended unreasonable facilities for them. Thus he could not do imparial judgement towards Hindus. This was one of the reasons of his differences with Gandhiji. This partial attitude of Mahatma created problems in creating harmonious-balance between the Hindus and the Muslims. Swamiji could not tolerate the wrong policies of the Congress for a long time and he separated himself from this national organisation. He resigned from the Congress. In the series of his editorials, on the one hand, he has narrated incidents and activities of 30 years of the national movement (from 1888 to 1922) and on the other hand he has given an authentic document of India's political, social, patriotic and national activities. He

has covered a large number of topics like Introducation of Indian National Congress, Congress-Conferences of Lohore and Lucknow, great contributions of Bal, Pal and Lal in the national movement, religious war (crusade), reality of 'Satyagrah', enterence in the Jumma Masjid, role of Lord Baron, unfortunate and tragic incidents, resign from the Congress, Journey from Amritsar to Calcutta, Untouchability in Calcutta, problems of untouchability, holi of the foreign cloths, memorial amarak of Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi in prison, role of the new Muslim - Maulanas etc.

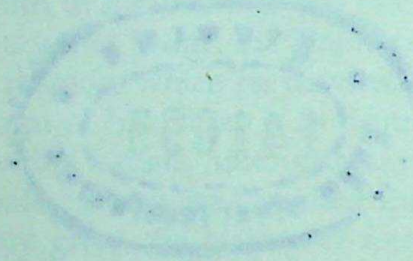
The aim of this book is to present before the readers, the contemporary socio-political observations of Swami Shraddhananda. His 'The Liberator' stands to establish justice and truth in the country. The real strength of the world lies in 'Justice and Truth'. He embraces this strength in the form of his religion, which he devotes towards Godly Power. The main aim of his paper is to destroy traditional superstition, unscientific beliefs, untouchability, explotation and lack of spirituality which are harmimg the Hinduism. The paper has not only given the history of freedom-movement but it has also suggested the scheme to build the 'Navyag'. He was the pioneer-journalist for more than four decades. He was the strong pillar of journalism. Among the four great journalists he occupies the most important place. The others were Lokmanya Tilak, Madan Mohan Malviya and Mahatma Gandhi. The aim of these journalists was to awake the sleeping - souls of their countrymen.

This book serves the real need of keeping the people in touch with the noble ideals and thoughts of Swamiji. This book is a humble dedication to this great Karma-Yogi and great patriot of Bharat Mata.

In the end I want to thank Dr. Vishnu Dutta Rakesh, Former Acharya and Head Dept. of Hindi; and Director, Swami Shraddhanda Research Publishing Centre, G.K.Vishva-Vidyalaya Hardwar, for inspiring me to bring out this book. I would express my deep gratitude to our learned Vice-Chancellor Prof. Swatantra Kumar for his spontaneous

inspiration, energy and love to complete this task. I also thank him for writing preface to this book.

I would like to express my sense of gratitude to Prof. Ved Prakash Shastri, Acharya and Pro-Vice-Chancellor, G.K.University, Haridwar for his blessings and for his soulful message. I feel deeply obliged to Prof. A.K.Chopra, Registrar G.K.University, Hardwar for his co-operation. I also thank to Prof. Jagdish Vidyankar, Librarian of this University for providing the issues of *The Liberator*. I would also like to express my gratitude to Shri N.K. Grover, Finance-Officer, G.K.V. Hardwar for his generous financial support.

—Krishna Avtar Agarwal

Swami Shraddhananda

Redeemer of Indian Race

Swami Shradhananda in his student life came in contact with Babu Bhartendu Harish Chandra, who was a great innovator of modern Hindi literature, a great writer, an inborn poet and a journalist. Although he was not influenced with his embellished creative writing but he was deeply impressed with him and his literary circle for their national sentiments, promulgation of Hindi and sublime literature. Bhartandu was a generous and progressive traditional Vaishnava. But he was also a staunch follower of Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. He also considered Pratap Narayan Mishra, Radha Charan Goswami and Bal Krishna Bhatta as great authorities of the age. Bharatendu Harish Chandra received full co-operation and support from Maharishi Dayananda when he entered in the field of Hindi journalism. When Swami Shraddhananda came in contact with Maharshi Dayananda, he undertook his works of national education, the Gurukul system of education, freedom movement, social reformation, Hindi promulgation, journalism and Shuddhi movement. He told this is his autobiography. He came in contact with the Bharatanduji in 1875 and Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati in 1879. He was very much impressed with the ideals of the Arya Samaj and the teaching of Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati and therefore he did not give any importance to romantic trends. On the other hand he gave value to the morals of life like truth, purity, serenity, honesty and sublimity. In his opinion purity, morality and

social reformation are the important traits for the sublime literature.

On February 19, 1889 he published his weekly paper 'Sad-Dharma Pracharak' in Urdu. Although his paper was published in Urdu but it contained the principles and objectives of the Arya Samaj, and therefore, it used the words of Sanskrit and Hindi in abundance, while the other urdu papers in Punjab used Urdu mixed Persian words. Thus the use of Urdu with Sanskrit words was a revolutionary experiment. He wrote Tracts and books in Urdu, English and Hindi languages. His first book in Urdu was published in 1891, with the name *Varna-Vyavastha* and the first book in English was also broughtout in the same year with the title *'The Future of the Arya Samaj: A Forecast'*. The first book in Hindi *'The Arya Sangeet Mala'* was published in 1900. His books *'Matri Bhasha ka Uddhar'* (1916). *'Aachar, Anachar* and *Chhuachhuta'* (1916), *'Jati ke Deeno Ko Mat Tyago* (1919)', *'Bandi Ghar ke Vichitra Anubhav'* (1923), *Kalyan Ke Marg Ka Pathik'* (1924), *'Hindu Savdhan* (1924)' and *Achhutpan Ke Kalank Ko Door Karo'* (1924) prove his main objectives of life. Salvation from untouchability, Suddhi movement, the Gurukul system of education and freedom movement were his four main pillars of life. He and the disciples of the Gurukula worked in these four movements. We find a great contribution of the scholars of the Gurukula in the freedom movement and journalism.

Swamiji came in contact with Lokmanya Tilak, Madan Mohan Malviya and Mahatma Gandhi in the political field of the country. Gandhiji has referred in his letters that in the Gurukula, the students of his Phinix Ashram learnt many things. The students of Swamiji sent Rupees fifteen hundred, which they earned through their physical labour, through Sri Gopal Krishna Gokhle, to the African-Satyagrah of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji was very much impressed with the selfless and sincere work and sacrifice of the Brahamacharies of the Gurukula. Being inspired by these

brahmacharies, the students of Gandhiji put an idea of Shramdan in building the Ashram of Vardha on the occasion of Kumbh-Mela at Haridwar in 1915. When Gandhiji met with Swamiji he was deeply impressed with the radiant face, strong will-power and sacrifice of Swamiji and the great scholarship in oriental learning and western scientific knowledge of Achrya Ramdev. Gandhiji asked the guidelines from Swami Shraddhananda in preparing the rules and regulations of the Ashram of Ahamdabad because he had seen the successful system of the Gurukul Ashram of Swamiji at Haridwar. He adopted in his Ashram the Gurukul culture and its teaching-method. The revolutionary ideals of Lokmanya Tilak inspired Swamiji to join the freedom movement. He brought out the first edition of 'Sad-Dharma Pracharak' in 1907. At the same time Madhav Rao Saprey, also brought out the first Hindi edition of 'The Kesari'. After the death of Lokmanya Tilak, Swamiji wrote the editorial in Hindi about the greatness of Tilak and thus contributed some important material about this great soul of India. He published the poem 'Hai Tilak Taru Tuta' of Mathili Shran Guptaji in the 'Shraddha'. At the same time the composition of Sri Bagish was Vidyalankar, the snatak of the Gurukula, became also very famous. The Shradha, a weekly Hindi paper, had been published since 1920. The Shraddha, was an important magazine for the literary and political matters. It also covered the reviews on the contemporary magazines and literary books.

Swamiji was the chairman of the reception committee of the Amritsar Congress Conference. He was a Staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity. He delivered his first political address on March 7, 1919. In the 'Sad-Dharam Pracharak' and other magazines the news of the courageous and dynamic leadership of Swamiji was published. His lecture from the Jama Masjid jolted the British rulers. The government did not want that there should be unity between Hindus and Muslims. It wanted to crush the movement

against the 'The Rowlatt-Act-Bill'. Swami Shraddhananda stood against the government and supported the people who were raising their voice against *'Kala Shasan'* in the Punjab. Pt. Motilal Nehru and Chitranjandas praised Swamiji for his courageous and noble work. The difference between Swamiji and Gandhiji began to take place on the issue of the manners of Satyagrah. Swamiji resigned from the Congress party because he did not agree with Gandhi ji to postpone it. He brought out his third journal *'The Liberator'* in English on 1st April, 1926. In this English paper he wrote 27 editorials with the title 'In and out of the Congress' (from 1st April 1926 to 16th October 1926). In these editorials he told the reasons of his coming out of the national organisation. Through them the readers came to know about the principles and ideals of Swamiji. He had done great works to unite Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in a national thread. He is also remembe ed for his efforts to make Hindustani as national langı age and Swadeshi education-policy. Swamiji declared Gandnuji as national religious leader. He wrote a letter to the father of the nation in 1918, 'We can not get success in making India great till we do not mingle true religion in the political field of the country.'

Swamiji named the freedom movement as *Dharmayuddha* (religious war) and he participated in it like a true brave soldier without caring for anybody and any consequences. Ali-Brothers praised Swamiji for his great works. It is clear that both Swami Shraddhananda and Gandhi Ji were not supporters of politics with out true religion.

Gandhiji began to stoop down unnecessarily before the polity of the minority. Swamiji presented the solid suggestions to solve the problems of the untouchables in the Nagpur-Congress Conference. He wrote a letter to Gandhiji in 1921, in which he clearly said that he wanted to utilize his full vigour and strength to uplift the down trodden people (Dalit-Varg). he saw that even in the Congress party the Hindus and the Muslims of the high castes were not taking interest

in solving the problems of Dalits. Swamiji was not happy with this. The differences between Gandhiji and Swamiji widened on the issues of untouchability and muslim favourism. In the Congress Conferences of Nagpur, Bardol and Lucknow, the issue of untouchability were raised, but no solid resolution could come out. Swamiji worked a lot for the untouchables with his sincere efforts. Gandhiji accepted it. He praised him in these words: "No body has done such an immence work in the field of untouchability, even the Congress could not do so, as Swami Shraddhananda has done, *"The Liberator"* has clear-coverages about his views on untouchability. It is the reason that in the Congress-Conference of Gaya it was said that the untouchability eradication committee could not do any work because in it there was no man of the grand personality like that of Swami Shraddhananda. He talked about the eradication of untouchables not on political ground but on the basis of human-justice.

Swamiji was an instigator of Hindu Mahasabha and the Suddhi Movement. In his views Hindu organisation was very important to check the activities of Muslim League and the Muslim Religious Conversion Committee. He wanted to redempt the Hindus. His book on Hindu organisation-*Saviour of the Dying Race*-is worthy to be read for this purpose. Sri Jugal Kishore helped him financially for the works of Hindu-organisation and Suddhi-Movement. Gandhiji commented on the Shuddhi works of Swamiji in appreciating words, but his words were taken otherwise by the Muslim orthodox-people. Seeing muslims' reactions, the Arya-Samajists filled with anger. The result of it was the assassination of Swami Shraddhanda. The Suddhi Movement of Swamiji should have been taken in the context of caste-defence but unfortunately it was taken otherwise. There was partition of India into two parts-India & Pakistan. Gandhiji had to see the dreadful sight of the partition of the country. Indraji, son of Swamiji, wrote that he (Swamiji)

wanted to give the reference of the article of Gandhiji on the unity of the Hindus and Muslims, but it could not be published in *"The Young India"*. In the article Mahatmaji used such a style which sent the message to the words as his liberal attitude towards the muslims. But it left the bad impression on the socio-political scenario in India. In this article Mahatmaji criticized Swamiji. It spoiled the communal harmony of the country. Swamiji was considering the Suddhi-Movement as the coming back of the Aryans to their homes. But the writer of these lines thinks that the contemporary people were wrong in understanding Swamiji.

In the editorials and critical comments of *'The Liberator'*, Swamiji has expressed his clear views on the problems of the untouchability and the Shuddhi-Movement. The political, social, religious and educational history of thirty seven years (1889 to 1926) have been secured through these editorials, papers, critical comments, lectures and addresses of Swamiji in his journals Dr. Ranjeet Singh has considered Swamiji as the originator of journalism in his book *'Swami Shraddhanand' (Samagra Mulyankana):* Till date we do not find any research work in this field. After a deep contemplation of his papers and articles we can get piquant knowledge. These papers and articles are very important not only in social field but also in political field. Padma Bhushan Dr. Banarsi Das Chaturvedi has the same opinion about his articles.

I am very happy to see that Dr. Krishna Avtar Agarwal, Dept. of English and Dr. Jagdish Vidyalankar, Librarian Gurukula Kangri University, Haridwar has reprinted the editionals and critical comments of *'The Liberator'* by Swamiji in a book form. With this unique work the coming generations will be benefited with the freedom-movement and the political history of India in which there is a great contribution of Lokmanya Tilak, Bal Krishna Gokhle, Motilal Nehru, Madan Mohal Malviya, Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Shraddhananda, Gurudev Ravindra Nath Tagore, and Rev.

C.F. Adrewes. In the history of freedom movement there is a great importance of the articles of *'The Liberator'*. I hope this book will be beneficial to the readers and researchers who want to know the 'Vision and Thought' of this great 'Karm-Yogi'.

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CONTENTS

The Aim of The Liberator

Freedom alone is really blessed. Real freedom is born of strength to do and not to do. It is based on self-consciousness, fed by the instinct of assertion and limited by the love of progress. Freedom is not happy in being monopolised and wants to be popularised. A freeman is not satisfied with his own monopoly of freedom but stakes his all to make his fellowmen as free as himself. It is of such free men that a free community is formed. Of such free communities a free nation is formed. Such free nations go to make a free humanity. One nation in bondage economic or military, physical or mental, forced or voluntary makes a free humanity impossible. One community in bondage makes a free nation impossible.

It is impossible to make India a free nation so long as a fifth of the nation is doomed to bereditary bondage or even something worse than bondage. This one fifth is enchained and its chains enslave the Hindu India which is three fourthes of the whole of India. The weakness of Hindu India is the weakness of the whole of India. If India is to be free, Hindus must be fired of their weaknesses. If Hindus wish to be free, the so-called untouchables and their assimilation in the Hindu polity is the very plinth on which alone the edifice of free India can be constructed. Therefore the Liberator will make the cause of so-called untouchables its main concern.

This doctrine of untouchability is the gangrene of Hindu polity. Diehard vanity, deeprooted prejudice, degenerating ignorance and doping superstition are the germs that feed

this gangrene. Each one of these has to be attacked for getting rid of this gangrene. Removal of this gangrene will mean the conquest of all of these germs. The moment these germs are conquered and this gangrene got rid of, Hindudom will recover its former strength and vitality. It will then flourish in full bloom in its Vedic purity. It will with stand attacks from within and without. Instead of shying and contracting, it will expand and gain by attacks from without by absorbing and assimilating the aggressors. In becoming strong itself, Hindudom will impart strength to the whole of India and the rejuvenated India will strengthen the whole world. The rejuvenation of India will automatically disable the jaws of the shark of foreign domination.

Full development of a nation is possible only when such development is undictated. But the dictation, once it is imposed, does not disappear for the asking. It has to be repelled does not disappear for the asking. It has to be repelled or ignored. Either of these processes requires internal strength. To argue that this strength will not come until such dictation disappears is to reverse the process or to use a hackneyed phrase, to place the cart before the horse. It is like a doctor asking a patient to get blood before he would be given medicine. Whoever heard of a shark opening his jaws to release the victim ? The victim has to show that he is too tough to penetrate without causing harm to the jaws. Internal development of the Indian Nation has to precede the disappearance of foreign domination. There is no royal road, no magic wand, no ethereal process to achieve this development. Patient work and attention to every detail will one achieve it. All those entities which place obstacles in the way of freedom as between individuals and individuals, between castes and castes, between groups and groups, must be done away with.

Besides the conventional barriers, we find, there are other subdivisions of the population in India. Cliques or cabals are fast developing, each such clique demanding implict obedience to its behests from its followers. These

behests whether right or wrong must not be examined, must not be questioned. Any question or any attempt at examination is at once misinterpreted as heresy. Only certain tenets are fashionable, others are tabooed. Not only is speech circumscribed, but even thinking is forced into narrow channels. Bigotry is looked upon as an institution of the past, but the domination of these eliques hardly falls short of it. This domination stunts the growth of individuals and the free development of the community. These cliques are the greatest allies of foreign domination. Cliques have wonderful capacity of reproduction. They multiply so fast that by their very numbers they are able to engulf the whole community. Like Alexander the Great, who wept when he found no more countries to conquer, these cliques form a vicious circle when they find no room in the community for reproduction. Once the community finds itself in this vicious circle, nothing short of a great shock can extricate it. The Liberator intends to given this great shock.

Equally harmful is the willing subordination of the people to the dictates of bosses, with this difference that while cliques have continuous existence, the bosses rise and fall in quick succession. Individuals change but the institution "boss" lives. These bosses have no power of their own : they are supplied that power by imagination that rules the world. The subordination of the people to these bosses is purely self-imposed and, therefore, all the worse. When an undesirable state is imposed from outside, attempts will be made to end it : when it is imposed from inside, it is nursed and flourishes. It has first to be brought home to the people that this craze of willing subordination is an evil before they can be induced to make any attempts to resist it. The Liberator will try to bring this home to the people.

A small band of outsiders can govern a large country only by an alliance with the indigenous masters who are posted all over the land. The classes - as these masters are called - always find to their interest to link themselves

with the governing caste. The two together succeed in driving the so called masses under their yoke. The masses groan under the weight but are held by their own helplessness. The Liberator will try to help them to realise that if only they make a stand they will be able to throw off their yoke.

A country of manufacturers can work only with the instrument of artificial congregations of human beings. For their purpose it is necessary to divorce men from nature. They have to be enticed to live in cities and desert villages wherein only serfs should labour. In the name of civilisation, amenities of life - as they are euphemistically called - are increased to fix the immigrants in the cities. In reality these amenities are nothing better than temptations which prove the undoing of villages. The Liberator will make efforts to save villages from these inroads.

The development of the nation must be harmonious and all sided. Development is not a compromise but a continuous onward march. The mind and the body have both to be developed simultaneously. All the limbs of the body must receive due attention. Wholesome foods produce disorganisation of the body and fetish produce disorganisation of the mind. The disorganisation is complete when the body and the mind begin to be attached to the producers. The Liberator will do all in its power to break through this disatrous attachment. The body and the mind will then become masters and be able to work in conform it with the will of the Great Master !

Mahatma Gandhi and the Liberator

Ashram, Sabarmati. 11th March 1926.

The 'Liberator' has an ambitious programme. If it succeeds in any single one of the items enumerated in the notice before me, the journal will have earned the name that Swami Shraddhanandji has chosen to give his latest creation.

The notice before me rightly places emphasis upon the

work of Liberating the suppressed classes but there are still more numerous classes held under suppression by our insane desire to clothe ourselves in foreign cloth. And they are not a fifth of the population of India but they are four fifths and if the 'Liberator' will liberate villages from the temptation of cities, I venture to suggest that the task is an impossibility without the spinning wheel.

M.K. Gandhi.

Notes - Let me assure Mahatma Gandhi that the charkha comes well within the scheme which I shall gradually unfold.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

A Confession of my Articles of Faith

Friends, who know that I am a stounnet advocate of the national language, ask me the reason of my starting a new weekly in English, when the Urdu daily 'Tej' and the Hindi weekly 'Arjuna' are ready at hand to enable me to give vent to my feelings and opinions. It is true that in private correspondence with Indians I never use English as a medium; but in my wanderings through the Madras Presidency during the last two years I found that if I wanted to reach the heart and the intellect of the Andhras, the Tamilians, the Malayalese and the Canarese I must utilize the English language as a vehicle of my thoughts and ideas. Moreover, what is written in English will find translators to convey my appeals to the South Indian masses.

I start today with a confession of the articles of my faith. Mine is not a blind faith and I am always open to conviction. But a man have firm Faith (From Fides Truth) before he dares to approach the public with his schemes of reform.

1. I believe that 'Dharma' is one while religions, Mazahib, Sampradayas are legion. But all the religious tenets, rites and ceremonies were meant by their founders to protect the central 'Dharma' of man. Dharma is eternal, Godmade while religions are manmade and changeable. Let every religion be traced to its original source, while is Veda, Divine

knowledge, and their Unity will be selfevident.

2. I believe that caste system is the root cause of the curse of untouchability, of the evil of early marriage and of consequent physical deteriotion. The disorganization of the Hindus is the result of the multiplication of castes and sub-castes. But the destruction of caste system alone will not attain the salvation of the Hindu Samaj unless it is replaced by the Varnashram Dharma of the Ancient Aryans. Let separate Brahmacharyashrams he opened in all parts of the country both for boys and girls, let householders be divided into four varnas according to (गुण कर्म) their character and conduct, let learned divines (Vanprasthis) devote the third stage of their life in contemplation and preparation for the final stage and let Sanyasis go round the world preaching Truth and Harmony to all.

3. I believe that every human being is born free and therefore every human society, be it a geographical unit or a social entity or a political state, must be allowed to pass a life of freedom. But I believe in the Karma theory also. As human beings deteriorate according to their 'Karmas', so does a political Unit rise or fall according to the collective 'Karma' of its members. I want to liberate the Hindu Nation from political bondage. I want that the whole Aryasamaj should work for Swarajya: in short they should become strong physically, socially and morally.

4. I believe that in order to make Hindu - Muslim Unity a real accomplished fact, both the communities must purge themselves of the accretions which have gathered round their primal Faith through centuries of darkness. Let "SNATGATHAN" among the Hindus and "TANZEEM" among the Musalmans set to themselves the task of removing their inner defects and battling with evils which are cutting into the vitals of their several seets and Samrpradayas.

5. I believe that variety of religious denominations and sects cannot stand in the way of social and political Unity in India and the 31 crores of Indians can form a nation in the truest sense of the word if they can find a

centre to which all might gravitate as one Unit. That centre of gravity, in my humble opinion, can be the Motherland. It is in this sense that I interpret a Vedamantra which lays down, the adoration of knowledge, speech and the Motherland, as a rule for every household in Rashtra (राष्ट्र) i.e. political state.) Let Sanatan Dharmi Hindus, Arya Samajists, Brahmos, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, Musalmans, Christians, Jews & c., follow their own systems in the worship of the Father-Mother Spirit but in the "PUJA" of the Motherland (मातृभूमि) and in imbibing the culture of the land of their birth, let them stand firmly united as a band of brotherly soldiers.

As the English poet has sung :
Lives there the man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself has said
This is my own, my native land.

As the Sanskrit Kavi's harmony permeated the atmosphere since ages :

जननी जन्मभूमि स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी

"Even heaven cannot compare with the Motherland, the giver of birth."

खाके वतन अज मुलके सुलैमान खुशतर,
खारे वतन अज सुछुलो रेहा खुशतर।
युसूफ किब मिष्न पादशाही मीकर्द,
मीगुफत गदाबृद ने कनभ्यो खुशतर।

And as the President poet has, so beautifully put :

"The dust of the Motherland is sweeter than Suleman's land, the thorns of the Motherland are more sweet than beautiful plants Joseph who reigned over Egypt said that it was more agreeable to him to live as a beggar in Cannan (his place of birth.)"

The above contains the germ of my articles of Faith at the present moment. From the day that the prospectus of the Liberator went out, I have been receiving enquiries

as regards my credentials. My reply is that credentials have I none to present for the very good reason that I subscribe to no creed.

With Faith in the powers of justice and Truth, "The Liberator" has been launched forth in existence. That it may honestly serve the Divine Cause is the prayer of .

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Contrast is essential

"Happy circumstances become tedions if not relieved by occasional hardship, pleasant sensations cease to be felt or noticed if not interrupted : contrast is essential to keep our attention fresh and interested. Hence, an occasional change from the most perfect state of all is necessary to the full enjoyment of that state; and such changes occur. They do not break up the perfect formation, but they suspend partially or wholly the perfect experience."

[The Liberator, Apr., 1926]

Coming Elections

Though there is nothing on the surface, movements beneath it have commenced. It appears that there will be three candidates in the field. Mr. Asaf Ali will surely stand. Mr. Shiv Narayan is not the man to miss the opportunity. L.Rang Bihari Lal is a rising star. He will surely test his fortune in the coming conflict. The Congress has not made its intentions clear. The contest will be hard, because the communal bias will play its part in the elections.

'Delhiwalla'

In and out of the Congress

II.

The Hindu Mahasabha.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT DELHI SESSION.

The following resolutions were passed by the 9th session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Delhi :-

1. Sevak Sangha

The Hindu Mahasabha considers it necessary to found an order of Hindu Sevaks who will devote the whole of their time and energy to the service of the Hindu Samaj and work for the protection and promotion of Hindu interests and further the growth and development of Hindu unity in accordance with the objects and resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha, and, also serve and promote the cause of cow-protection. The Mahasabha is further of opinion that

in order to give practical shape to the above resolution a permanent fund be raised with the interest of which the above objects may be carried out. (Passed unanimously).

2. Untouchability

(a) The Hindu Mahasabha requests all Hindus to remove such restraints as may be existing at present in the way of the so-called untouchable Hindus using public schools, public wells and public roads and attending public meetings.

(b) The Mahasabha further requests the authorities of Hindu temples to provide facilities to the so-called untouchable Hindus 'deba-darshan.' (By an overhelming majority.)

3. Suddhi

The Hindu Mahasabha draws the attention of the Hindus of all the provinces in general and those of Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Central Provinces, Gujrat, Madras, and N.W.F. Province in particular and of the Hindu Sabha of these provinces to the distressful state of Hindus all over the country and in the aforesaid provinces in particular where the numerical defection of Hindus has been and is going on steadily year by year, and where non-Hindus convert Hindu boys, girls and widows to their faiths by offering them all kinds of inducements. This Mahasabha urges the Hindu Sabhas and the Hindus of the above provinces to take steps to take back all converts into the fold of their "Biradaries" and sects after the performance or requisite "prayaschit."

(b) The Mahasabha expressed the opinion that it is perfectly legitimate and proper that those Malkanas, Moolas and Sanyogis, whether they belong to the Rajput, Brahman Vaishya, Jat, Gujrat or any other caste, who have all along followed Hindu customs and whose marriage relations have been pure, should be taken back into their castes, "Biradaries" and sects after requisite "prayaschit" in accordance with their respective customs (Maryada).

The Mahasabha further expresses its satisfaction at some of these people having been taken into their "Biradaries" and hopes that the Biradaries will welcome them in their fold and will try to take back at a very early date all those who have not been so far readmitted.

(c) It is further the opinion of the Mahasabha that such non-Hindus as feel reverence for and express faith in Hinduism should be admitted into the Hindu fold. (Unanimously).

4. Hindi as 'Lingua Franca'

The Hindu Mahasabha urges the Hindus of all provinces and colonies to learn Hindi language, the 'linguafranca' of India and specially the Nagari script in which all the Hindu scriptures are written. (Unanimously).

5. Sangathan

(a) The Hindu Mahasabha calls upon every Hindu to devote himself heart and soul, to the sacred work of Hindu Sangathan and to organise Hindu Sabhas in every village and town with a view to carry out the objects and resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha.

(b) The Mahasabha expects every Provincial Hindu Sabha and all Hindu leader to establish Hindu Sabhas during this year in places where they do not exist at present. (Unanimously).

The Status of Indian States

On the eve of his departure Earl Reading addressed a letter to H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad regarding the retrocession of Berar in which are to be found two paragraphs enunciating the status of States visavis the British Government. As they are of very great importance to the whole of India they are reproduced here :

"The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India and, therefore, no Ruler of an Indian State can Justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal

footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon Treaties and Engagements but exists independently of them and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to Foreign Powers and Politics : it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States to preserve peace and good order throughout India. The consequences that follow are so well-known and clearly apply no less to your Exalted Highness than to other Rulers that it seems hardly necessary to point out; but if illustration are necessary I would remind your Exalted Highness that the rulers of Hyderabad along with other Rulers received in 1862 a sanad declaratory of the British government's desire for the perpetuation of this house and Government subject to continued loyalty to the Crown, that no succession to the masnad of Hyderabad is valid unless it is recognised by his Majesty the King Emperor, and that the British Government is the only arbiter in cases of disputed succession.

The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian states is another instance of the cnsequences necessarily involved in the Supremacy of the British crown. The British Government have indeed shown again and again that they have no desire to exercise this right without grave reason. But the internal no less than the external security which the Ruling princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where Imperial interests are concerned or the general welfare of the people of a state is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the Paramout Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial actional, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility."

Non-Co-operation and Councilentry

In one of his most recent speeches Pandit Motilal Nehru

insisted that councilentry was no-co-operation. It was though that this doctrine was laid at rest by the pronounces of Gandhiji made from Juhu in May 1924 in which he declared that councilentry was inconsistent with Non-co-operation as conceived by Gandhiji and accepted by the Indian National Congress under his leadership at Calcutta and again at Nagpur. At Delhi a longwinded confounding Resolution was adopted at the instance of a Musalman leader who is a slave of verbosity and the humbug of Delhi was ratified at Cocanada under the charm of a Hindu leader who is a slave of subtlety. It was after these two sessions that Gandhiji's Juhu declaration was made. To make council entry really permissible, he saw that it was necessary to suspend non-co-operation itself and got it suspended by the Congress at Belgaum. After all this, propriety required that there should be no repetition of councilentry sailing under the borrowed colours of non-co-operation. It may be convenient for distinguishing Pandit Nehru's party from that of what is named "Responsive Co-operation." It is, however, neither moral nor altogether prudent to put it to such a use, because there are still enough congressmen who will protest against such an interpretation of non-co-opration. Cawnpore is built on Belgaum and this fact can be forgotten by Pandit Nehru only at peril.

Pandit Nehru has castigated Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya on his formation of a party of Congressmen opposed to the socalled mandate given by the Congress at Cawnpore. One need not agree with Pandit Malviya for suggesting that he is not exercising any other right than what was claimed by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Das and Nehru at Gaya and after. These formed the minority at Gaya and, precisely to disobey the mandate of the Gaya Congress, founded the party which was then called by a name as long and variegated as a goods train. If they were justified then in forming a minority party within the Congress, Pandit Malviya is now equally justified in forming a party within the Congress for the sake of disobeying the mandate of the

Cawpoe Congress. If Pandit Malviya can now secure as much support and work with as much force as Deshbandhu Das did in 1923, their may be a special session of the Congress to upset Cawnpore resolutions even as there was the special session at Delhi in September 1923 to upset Gaya Resolutions. Whether Pandit Malviya will succeed or not is a different question. Whether his success will be beneficial to the country is still another questions. His right to form a minority party within the Congress is, however, quite indefeasible.

Irresponsible Statement Corrected

During my recent visit to Lucknow I met brother Motilal Nehru and had a long talk with him on the activities of the several political parties at work now. A certain "our own correspondent" has wired the gist of my talk to the daily newspapers saddling me with some views which I do not hold nor ever expressed. He says; - "He (i.e., myself) said he had full faith in Gandhiji's original programme and would take up Congress work in right earnest so soon as the Swarajists would leave the Councils and begin to prepare the country for Civil diobedience. He was opposed to Pandit Malviya's new party." What I exactly said was that I had full faith in Gandhiji's 'Constructive' (not original 'destructive') programme, that I was opposed not only to Pandit Malviya's new party but to the United Nationalist party as well because they had no constructive programme to present but had come into existence simply to defeat and destroy the influence of the Swarajya party, that I would like an over-whelming majority of the voters to return Swarajist candidates from every constituency because, in order to wrest something out of the bullyign bureaucracy a clear majority of the elected members is necessary and that offices should, in no case, be accepted by Swarajists because acceptance of offices under the bureaucracy tends to demoralize such office-holders- I quoted, in connection with the last remark, the wellknown couplet of the late poet Akbar :

मेरे सैयाद की तालीम की है धूम गुलशन में।
वहां जो आज फंसता है वह कल सैयाद होता है।।

"The fame of the teaching of my huntsmna is (widespread) in the garden : whoever is entrapped there to-day becomes himself a huntsman to-morrow."

I prophesied that even if the Swarajists go into the Assembly and some of the Councils in an overwhelming majority, they shall have to clear out. I did not propose to take up Congress work when Swarajists began to prepare the country for civil disobendience. What I said, in this connection, was substantially the same as I have several times spoken and written. I said - "Mass Civil disobedience cannot be manufactured. When it comes, it comes like a Divine Dispensation, and no power on earth can with-stand it. And when that time comes I will be found in the Van-guard." But it is necessary to prepare the sons and daughters of Bharat for that day both physically and morally, so that Swarajya, if it ever comes through the Grace of God, might be absorbed and digested by them.

Let me make myself plain once for all. My humble opinion is that the Congress should shake itself free from all sectarian religious thraldom, that every Hindu, Muslim Christian & etc., when he enters the Congress portals, should leave his sectarian and communal prejudices behind, that every Indian-man and woman-should join the Congress as a member and that instead of wasting its energy in search of the mirage of immediate Swarajya, it should take up the work of physical, economical and moral uplift of the people, so that when through some cataclysm India is left free to develop and govern herself, we might not be weighed in the balance and found wanting. I know that, for the present, the Congress is not doing truly national work and therefore, remaining outside its sprecincts I am contributing my humble mite to the work of reconstruction and revivification of the Motherland.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Editorial Observations

Delhi Election

The Imperial Capital of India has only one representative and that one in the Indian Legislative Assembly alone. The next election to that one seat for Delhi is fraught with momentous possibilities and dangerous potentialities. It is a pity that Government, who have accepted the principle of communal representation, should not have so arranged things as to separate the Mohamedan electorate from Non-Mohamedans even as in every other part of India. Delhi is a mixed electorate and here is afforded the single opportunity of sending the best man to the Legislature. In elections to representative institutions "best" has a signification of its own : it only means the man who can secure the largest number of votes. In Delhi the election ought to run on purely political lines independently of any cross considerations.

The Communal Aspect

Can such considerations be altogether avoided in fact? With the whole country seething which communal bickering and separatism and with mutual distrust, is it possible for Delhi to be an exception? Assuming that Delhi was so highly cultured, so completely permeated with nationalism that it was possible to ignore the communal aspect, would it have been a proposition of practical politics to isolate Delhi from the general atmosphere of India ? If the answer to this question be a negative, which in our opinion it is, it becomes a still stronger negative when the actual position in Delhi is considered. The communal aspect does affect the elections in Delhi quite materially. To get over this difficulty, a sort of understanding has been set up that the representative of Delhi should be alternately a Hindu and a Mohamedan. The present representative being a Hindu, this convention requires that the next should be a Mohamedan.

Cawnpore and After

Those voters of Delhi, who own allegiance to the Indian National Congress, have to carry out that body's mandate. After the Cawnpore session, it is the Congress that is to select and run candidates for whom all Congressmen must vote solidly. There cannot be divided allegiance when the question of action arises. You are a Congressman or you are not. You are loyal to the Indian National Congress or you are not. If is for Congress authorities to choose the can didate or candidates. This convention of alternate representation must, therefore, be placed before the Congress executive and formally sanctioned before it can be binding on Congressmen.

The defect of this Convention

The convention is conceived or removing distrust and for proving that the interests of minorities are quite safe in the hands of Hindu Majorities. Once the questions of minorities is raised, it has to be considered in relation to every community which is in a minority. It is not as if there are only two communities in Delhi; there are Christians, there are Sikhs. What bout these small communities ? If a Hindu M.L.A. can protect the interests of Sikhs and Christians, is he not competent to safeguard the interests of such a strong and numerous community as the Mohamedans ? On the other hand, if a Mohamedan M.L.A. is quite able to safeguard the interests of a small community whose votes he may ignore, is a Kish M.L.A., who cannot ignore either the Hindu or the Moslem vote, not equally able - may abler - to safeguard the interests both of Hindus and of Musalmans ? From this point of view the justifiable convention would be the one followed in Bombay in regard to the President of the Municipal Corporation, viz, to elect a representative belonging to each community by rotation. But such a convention has not been set up and will, probably, not be considered. The convention, that has been set up, would appear to be based rather on a mere convenience

than on any moral or high political principle. It is based on the necessity of placating the most noisy and inconvenient minority.

The Hindu Mahasabha

Here comes the voice of the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha held in March at Delhi. A Resolution was passed in that session capable of more than one interpretation. In the first part it declares that the Hindusabha should not run candidates. In the next, however, it laysdown that the Working Committee may take all proper steps to safeguard Hindu interests including "the running of its own candidates." And one step further the Hindusabha declares that political parties should so arrange their programmes as to leave each member "free to vote on matters" affecting his own particular community.

The Implications

If these resolutions are to be enforced by Hindus, very peculiar consequences will follow. The very first is that the Congress will be supplanted by the Hindu Mahasabha. A Moslem member may not conscientiously bind himself to vote in a matter involving a communal question in a manner which will safeguard Hindu interests according to the Hindu Community's notion. If he be a staunch Congress-man, he may be made to promise that he will vote with the Congress party in the Legislature. Beyond that he cannot be expected to do anything pro-Hindu when the Hindu and Moslem interests may conflict. Indeed the Hindu Sabha itself gives him the "freedom to vote on matters affecting" his own particular community and to that extent frees him even from the Congress-party's tie. The upshot of these considerations, is that if the Hindu Mahasabha's Resolutions are to be carried out, Hindu voters cannot support a Musalman candidate. Clearly it will, mean the supplanting of the Indian National Congress by the Hindu Maha Sabha and also a dissolution of the convention which is supposed to have been established at Delhi.

The Chamars of Kheri

Elsewhere is to be found an account of a deplorable instance of maltreatment of untouchables and we have no hesitation to compliment Swami Ramanandji on the amicable settlement with guarantee of future good treatment which he has succeeded in bringing about with the aid of the District Superintendent of Police who was actively sympathetic. Prosecutions leave a stinking trail behind and defeat their purpose more often than not. They may bring about a temporary truce or an armed nontrality while a real settlement brings about a lasting peace which is the thing wanted. The philosophy of suffering is not the off spring of a lunatic but has a working basis in this world. The Jats of Khri have been moved by the suffering of the Chamars.

The Duty of the Police

The District Superintendent has certainly played his part creditably as between Jats and Chamars. Has he done his duty in respect of the offending Policemen and the Subinspector ? They are guilty of a manifest dereliction of duty. The Chamar who went to report to the Police the burning of a Charmar's hut was frightened into silence by a Policeman. The complaint of the wounded party was not even recorded by the Police until after the insistence of Arya Samaj workers. The wounded Chamar was not allowed to be taken to a Hospital by Jats and the Police did nothing to take him thither. These are three specific allegations contained in the statement of the Secretary, Dalitodhar Sabha. What steps have been taken by the D.S.P. in respect of these ? Certainly it is not open to the Government to protest their sympathy for the Depressed and then fail to take suitable steps to show their disapproval of their servants' failure in acting up to it. It is such acts on the part of the subordinate Government Servants (if they are not promptly and suitably published) which give ground to the charge that the present Government give only hollow promises.

If Government's sympathies for the Depressed are anything like real, the D.S.P. must take suitable disciplinary action against the offending Policemen and Police Officer on the spot, and make the action known to the public.

Respect Mothers

1. Because they as guardians and preserves of the children are the backbone of a society.
2. Because they as moulders of our future rulers and citizens are the true makers of a country or nation. Hence the looking after the welfare of the child, of the girl, and of the mother should be the first duty of the portratic public. For, the healthy child to-day means a strong mother to-morrow.
3. Because you cannot rise up by keeping them down. If you would help yourselves, then help them to work their way up out of the degrading conditions into which some of our Hindu customs have cast them./ No nation can rise above the level of its women.
4. Because they as being much more zealous in living lives of purity and devotion to religion are by nature the better half of the race.
5. Because all men whether rich or poor, great or small, have been brought up by dear mothers; and none of us can repay his or her mother even for a single day's love.
6. Because the great Seers of the world say : "Heaven lies at the feet of thy mother."
7. Because they as ministering angles in the home are the embodiments of love and kindness to their children. We often remember our dear mother's love even in old age. It is therefore through their sacred influence that India must be regenerated so that love and kindness may become the predominant principles here in our land.

But one cannot see such regard for Hindu Mothers in General, under the following conditions

1. If we do not realize the importance and possibilities of the above truths.
2. If our talents are being spend mostly for the welfare of men only.
3. If our speakers and editors in general are still overlooking in their programmes the vital and fundamental needs of Indian woman hood.
4. If we have still many laws so unjust, so unreasonable, as to keep the males free to do everything they would like, and to suppress and subjugate the female sex at every step or turn in life.
5. If we do not allow a woman her birth right of self-determination and self-expression.
6. If we do not allow freedom of conscience to the wife even to perform her religious rites apart from her husband.
7. If we are still compelling the wife to look upon her husband always blindly as a veritable God, no matter however depraved and cruel the latter may turn out to be.
8. If we compel a woman to remain throughout her life as a dependent creature, always at the mercy of her male relative - whether good, bad or indifferent.
9. If we cry for Swaraj without first doing something to purge our society of evil customs - such as, too early marriages, ill-assorted marriages, marriages by purchase or exchange, Devedasis, child widows, and an uneducated motherhood.

Please think for a few moments. There is no society in the world where the status of women is so inferior, and consequently there is no country where infant mortality is so fearfully high. Such a state of things should make us ponder seriously.

Now,' this is a question which concerns men and women alike. We therefore ask every thoughtful woman, and every man who cares for truth and justice, to reflect on this question. There are other big questions for Hindu Sabhas and Conferences but attention to this great question of questions will remove real grievances which hinder our advancement. To work for this cause is to work for the very salvation of our society.
2.4.1926
BHAGAT RAM,
Jiv Daya Parcharak, Ferozepore Cantt.

Medium of Education

Pandit Chitamani Vaidya said the following in his convocation address to the Gurukul Graduates of Hardwar:

"What is further remarkable is that in your Gurukul all these subjects are taught through the Medium of Hindi, the mothertongue of the students. There are hundreds of universities in the whole world but you will find no University which teaches through a foreign language except in India. No body will question the truth of the statement that a subject can be throughly grasped only if taught through the medium of one's mothertongue and further that a great deal of mental labour is saved by this method. It may also be pointed out that a language progresses and even the people who speak that language progress when that language is made the medium of instruction in teaching higher subjects in Colleges, especially history, politics and economics. I have no doubt. Your Colleges will be the means of furthering the progress of the Hindu language and making it fit to be the "lingua franca" of the whole of India."

A Sad Account
Untouchables Harassed

The Secretary Dalitodhar Sabha, Delhi has reported a very sad and deplorable event. There is a village called Kheri near Faridabad, District Gurgaon wherein a chamar

named Goorkhi gave a feast in high caste fashion at the time of his daughter's marriage. The Jats of the village took offence at this "supposed" arrogation by untouchables of the fashions of high caste Hindus and held a conference to consider what steps should be taken to reinstate their offended dignity. On the morning of 21st March an organised attack was made by Jats armed with lathes upon a batch of men women and children who were proceeding to Faridabad. The house of the grandfather of the girl was also burnt down. The Jats laid a virtual siege to the village and prevented any Chamar from going out. Banish were practically prevented from selling things to the Chamars.

[The Liberators, 8 April, 1926]

A LIVING NATIONAL INSTITUTION
(BY A VISITOR.)

Last weak came the 24th anniversary of the Gurukul Kangri. The anniversary was attended by about five thousand people. Nationalist leaders like Seth Jamna Lal Bajaz and Babu Prushothamdass Tandon graced the occasion with their presence and expressed their satisfaction with what they saw. Prof. Ramdev, Principal of the institution, while appealing for funds, gave a glowing account of the work done by it. He showed that compared with any other educational institution, the results produced by the Gurukul were quite satisfactory. The tree is judged by its fruits. The Gurukul should be judged by its graduates. The graduates of the Gurukul have proved beyond doubt that even without recognition from the Government, products of the national institutions can, by sheer ability and industry, he useful to society. Uptill now, the Gurukul at Kangri has sent forth about 150 graduates to take part in the battle of life, and it can be said that majority of them have been successful. They have proved their worth as national and religious workers, as writers, as professors, as medicine men and even as business men. As good grihasthas, they have established their superiority over the graduates of any other institution. Such was the record that the principal of the oldest existing national university in the land put before his countryman. It is a record of which any educational institution may feel proud.

Next year the Gurukul Kangri will complete the first

quarter of century of its life. When the institution was started, the idea of an independent educational institution appeared to be an impossibility. In Congress circles, there was no talk of the boycott of official universities. Indian Nationalism was still in its infantile stage. The Congress was satisfied with protests and requests. To run an independent educational institution was thought to be an impossibly. The affiliated institutions like Fergusson College of Poona, or D.A.V. College of Lahore were taken as the highest products of the national awakening. It was in such atmosphere that the scheme of the Gurukul was launched forth. It was quite a new experiment in the educational world. It promised to break every kind of tradition established by 150 years of foreign rule. Friends feared while critics ventured to foretell the failure of the novel experiment.

A time came when the whole country reverberated with the echoes of the idea materialised by the Gurukul. The flat went forth that the Government's educational institutions were to be boycotted. Youngmen responded to the call and flocked to the national flag. National Universities came in-to existence in many provinces. In that din of political warcries the Gurukul was nearly forgotten. It was said "now that the universities with better national credentials have been established, the Gurukul has lost its importance." Many wellwishers advised the authorities of the institution of wind up the business, or at least to tie the boat to some big ship. But fortunately for the cause of national education, the Gurukul was saved from being dismissed with the momentary enthusiasm of those who were trying to make education a hand maid of passing political waves. With the calming down of political atmosphere, the newly started national education institutions lost their popularity. Some of them have already succumbed to the circumstances, others are tottering on their feet, only a very few are leading healthy lives. Under these circumstances when the flag of national education seems to be lowering, it is extremely satisfactory to find at least one corner of the land where

it is held up high by unshaking hands of a few faithful sons of the motherland. It stands to the credit of those who founded the institution that they laid its foundations not on sands of a passing humour of the public, but on the deep solid ground of eternal spiritual and moral insinct of the Indian nation. With all its short-comings, the Gurukul Kangri is the freest and healthiest representative of Indian culture adapted to the present condition.

It has been decided to celebrate the silver jubilee of the institution next year. The idea was put forth by Snatka Mandal of the Gurukul Kangri, and the managing committee has adopted it. It is proposed to make it a grand affair. No Indian can but rejoice at the successful completion of a quarter of a century in the life of a truly National institution. The authorities and others connected with the institution may rest assured that in the celebrations of the next year the heart of every true son of India will be with them.

A Hindu Conference

At the session of the Hindu Conference held at Tangail on 4th April under the Presidentship of Srijut Ramesh Chandra Chowdary Resolutions were passed :

1. Supporting the claims of all Hindus irrespective of caste to enter public temples;
2. Demanding the removal of the ban of drinking water to Depressed classes and advising inter dining ;
3. Allowing widow marriages;
4. Discouraging the gift of alms to professional beggars; and
5. Emphasising the need to take back oppressed and converted men and women after due sanskar.

Mahatma's Message

The following is the full text of the message Mahatma Gandhi sent to the organisers of the campaign for establishing the right of the untouchables to templeentry at Trivandrum.

"The reformers in Travancore have done well in the matter of untouchability. The more I think of it in terms of religion the more convinced I become that it is the greatest blot upon Hinduism. I, therefore, hope that the reformers will not rest content till every temple and every public school is open to the so-called untouchables on a footing of equality with the other Hindus."

Depresses class Leaders

The all India Depressed Classes Leaders Conferences will be held on April 26 and 27 in Nagpur. Rao Bahadur M.C. Raja M.L.C. will preside.

Embrace Humanity

William Pearson the great friend of South African Indians wrote :-

"In conclusion, let me suggest as one who loves India that the sufferings and huiliations of the Indians in South Africa should make us in India feel more strongly than ever the evils of caste prejudice which have for centuries permitted Millions in India itself to suffer humiliations and degradations at the hands of those who belong to the higher castes. Coolies in Natal have in some cases given me as their reason for being unwilling to return to India their fear of social persecution at the hands of their own countrymen in the Villages of their birth. One man actually told me that he had returned to Natal because his life had been made so miserable in his own village in India because of his having crossed the Sea.

"Let the people of India while doing everything in their power to uphold, in their struggle for honour and selfrespect, the Indian community in South Africa, follow the example of their fellow countrymen in that land and show their respect for he dignity of human nature by recognising all men as brothers and taking into the embrace of humanity the sixty millions of out-castes and untouchables of their own motherland."

"The example" Person thinks of consisted of :-

(i) The breaking down of caste restrictions ;

(ii) The partial breaking down of the barrier between Hindus and Musalmans ;

(iii) The emancipation of India women.

Sheetanchors

"The nation lacks one thing. What is that ? General Booth-Tucker of the Salvation Army stated before the Reform Scheme Committee that the Six and a half crores of untouchables in India should be given special concessions because they were the anchorsheets of British Government. I would ask you to reflect and find out how six and a half crores of untouchables could be the anchorsheets of Government. I would also request you to take a vow, while you are within this sacred pandal, to so behave towards these so-called untouchables that their children may read in Schools and Colleges which your children attend, that they be allowed to mix with your families as your families do amongst themselves and that they may be allowed to put their shoulders along with your own to the wheel of political activity and advancement. Ladies and gentlemen ! Do pray with me that this dream of mine may be realised."

(Extract from the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Amritsar Congress.)

The Significance of the Calcutta riots

The calcutta riots came liked a bolt from the blue. These riots have settled many a settled fact. It was a settled fact that in every riot Hindus were to be beaten and looted and their sacred places desecrated. This could not last for ever. Even a worm turns to bite when hard pressed. The Calcutta riots have shown that the Hindus have not only learnt to defend themselves but have begun to imitate the Muhammadans in desecration of sacred places and in the looting of Muslim shops. During the Delhi riots of Bakr-i-Id in 1924, I kept back exasperated Hindu combatants,

from attacking stray Muslims with great difficult. Hindu publicists are jubilant over the splendid spirit of self-defence which has suddenly sprung up among the Hindus and as an humble worker in the cause of Hindu Sangathan I, too, would have rejoiced at this silver lining among dark clouds. But it has given me intense pain to learn that the mild Catholiespirited Hindu is also becoming an iconclast of the first water and a bully and plunderer to boot. It is the sacred duty of Hindu leaders to restrain their followers from imitating their opponents in these acts of sacrilege and plunder. In this connection, let me remind old Congressionists of the days of the Partition of Bengal of a well-known fact. Nawab Salimullah instigated the Mullahs to preach Jehad against Hindus who wanted the two Bengals to become united again. The Muhammadan bullies and riff-raffs began looting shops and committing rapes on Hindu women and when their passions were excited beyond control, they made no distinction between Hindus and Muslims. At last Muslim gentlemen were obliged to join hands with their Hindu neighbours in petitinoning the Government for putting down such irreligious bigotry gone made. I fear the present imitation of Muslim bullies by Hindu goondas may not go too far and envelop both the communities in social and political ruin.

To Muslim leaders I make a special appeal to wake up betimes. The efforts of Sir Abdul Rahim and other leaders of that ilk, to isolate the Aryasamajists from the general Hindu community, have not, so far, succeeded and can never succeed. The Aryasamajists are the sappers and miners as well as the protectors of the Hindu community and the last week in Calcutta has proved to demonstration that the Arya-Hindu Community is determined to rise or sink together.

Now that the Hindu masses are about to break loose from their ancient Aryan-culture, let the Muslim gentry ponder deeply over the sexual looseness among their own

community. In every riot, while havoc plays all round, the Muhammadan bully thinks of nothing else than the diabolical gratification of his lust. I read on page 5, column 5 of the Bangalee of 7th April - "A young Hindu woman with her two or three months' child was taken to Medical College hospital from Mirzapur street on Saturday in an unconscious condition. She had serious lathi blows on her person and was admitted into hospital. Later on she able profusely and the House-Surgeon, while examining her, suspected that she had been raped several times." This from the extreme East of India. And from the North Western Thatta comes the Judgement of the European District magistrate of Attack sentencing Ghulam Muhammad, son of Honorary Lt.-Subedar-major Dost Muhammad Kha, O.B.E., Zalidar of Thatta to eleven years imprisonment for abduction and rape committed on a 14 years old Hindu married girl. The full Judgment has appeared in several daily papers and I need not go into the horrible blood-curdling details. Then Bengal and other provinces are full of these demoniacal atrocities committed upon innocent Hindu girls. How is it that we do not hear of such like satanic attacks by Hindu or Indian Christian goondas and bullies ? What is responsible for this state of affairs ? Is if the fault of the Muhammadan religion and culture or is it due to the accursed Pardah system among the Muhammadans ? My humble opinion is that if Pardah be given up and the eyes of the Muslim ladies do fall full upon the doings of their males, such occurrences will become a thing of the past in no time.

I wished there were more Muhammadan leaders of the bold patriotic type of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to attract kindred Hindu souls who would with their join efforts try to fill the breach which is being daily widened by the joint Karma of both the communities, for to my mind it is not manliness to try to saddle a third invisible party with our own responsibilities.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Satyagraha in Trivandrum

Immediately after I launched the "Liberator," I heard of the opening of the Satyagraha campaign inaugurated at Trivandrum even on the same day with the "Liberator." In the meeting held on Thursday 1st April at Trivandrum under the presidentship of Mr. T.K.Velupilai a prominent member of the Nair Community, the proceedings opened with a prayer pronounced by Swami Sayavrathan. The message of Mahatma Gandhi, which has been published elsewhere, was read in the meeting. Resolutions were passed one of which was to collect twenty-five thousand rupees to meet the expenses of the campaign and another was to appoint a General Committee and a Working Committee for supervising the campaign. The beginning has been well-made. The indications so far have been favourable. The high-castemen attempted to invoke the aid of the law-courts in consolidating the injustice of excluding the so-called unapprochable even from the roads leading to the temple; but Mr. Bhaskara Menon, the District Judge of Alleppey defeated their attempts (a summary of his judgment is given elsewhere) and has indicated that even in this world justice may prevail.

I am glade to learn that Mr. Parmeshwaram Pillai and other workers in the sacred cause led the procession and I invoke the blessings of Parmatma in the hope that He will crown their efforts with success!

Shraddhananda Sanyasi

Editorial Observations

H.E. Baron Irwin

We acknowledge with gratefulness the favour H.E. Baron Irwin has done to us by sending rupees four as his year's subscription to the 'Liberator'. We have already said that if Baron Irwin can improve agricultural prospects of India without the distintegration of villages and can do anything to make the actual tillers of the soil selfreliant,

he has our best wishes. It is a pity that in the din of political wrangles, the villagers are mentioned only as an electioneering cry. We are grieved by our people's helplessness but nothing will be gained by suppression of a fact. If a sincere friend of villagers helps them, we shall other support him.

Baron Irwin's Illness

It is with great regret that we learn of Baron Irwin's illness so early after landing in this country. His Excellency was appointed to see a good portion of Punjab during this week and to perform a good number of ceremonies. The ceremonial part will be performed by the provincial representative of His Majesty. But to his and our great regret, Baron Irwon has to postpone his education to autumn. It is our fervent prayer that His Excellency be soon restored to health and strength which he will apply to a through study of the actual difficulties of the villagers and disabilities of the cultivators of India.

A Mute Viceroy

It is with a feeling of distinct relief that we read and hear the complaints against Baron Irwin's "Mumness." Tej 'onehanded' Viceroy may prove far more right-handed and will probably play only a "single" game as against the "double" game which his predecessor was playing much to the delectation of even Swarajist politicians. Lord Reading is given the credit of begin the Viceroy who "was head and shoulders above his colleagues" by a Swarajist publicist. This certificate is surely worth a great deal, although the general feeling in the country is that Lord Reading was swallowed by the bureaucracy. Glib talk, pleasant manners and a suave bearing appear to have done much to ingratiate Earl Reading even with Swarajist some of whom are now inclined to bewail the muteness of Baron Irwin. Lawyers, Councillors, orators and politicians are inclined to measure a person's

ability by the facility of his talk, a measure which may not appear sound to the layman. The man of few words may possess an iron will and we may be pardoned for suggesting that in his simplicity may be found the power of leading. Lack of ostentation may fall in better with love of the soil, though not with the table-cloth. Incapacity to win the appreciation of platform orators may prove a blessing in reality to sons of the soil.

Mr. Horniman and the Masters

Speaking on 5th April at the Gaiety Theatre in Bombay Mr. B.G.. Horniman took Mr. Jinnah to takes for saying that the electorates of the Councils were the real Masters of India and maintained that the Congress electorates were the real masters. We hold no brief for Mr. Jinnah who came convenient for the attack. Mr. Horniman is at present linked with a few prominent gentlemen of Bombay who claim to have followed and still to follow the lead to Deshbandhu Das said and it was Deshbandhu who first maintained the view for which Mr. Horniman is attacking Mr. Jinnah. After The Gaya session Deshbandhu Das said that though the Congress was not with him he had the country with him. "I have sixty laks of voters behind me" repeated Mr. Das from a hundred and one platforms. Mr. Horniman may take up the 1923 file of any daily newspaper in India and will find this opinion iterated and re-iterated by the Deshbandhu on countless occasions. Mr. Horniman wound up his speech with an appeal to stand by and support the Swarajya party which was founded mainly by Deshbandhu who asserted the supremacy of the council electorates - over the Congress electorates. We have great respect for Mr. Horniman's abilities. If wonders can be worked, Mr. Horniman is one of the few persons who can work them. But even he must know the facts before he can metamorphose them. And the fact is that Deshbandhu first enunciated the view for which Mr. Horniman attacked Mr. Jinnah.

The much needed advice

Babu Anil Baran Roy the illustrious Bengal Swarajist M.L.C who was interned by the Bengal Government and has recently been released said at Jamshedpur :-

"We have had enough of political excitement. That way Swaraj will not come. That way is sapping our capacity for sustained work. If we want to rouse the masses to activity, we must non-co-operate-not so much with the Government-but with the social and religious evils, with ageold superstitions, prejudices and evil customs which pass under the name of religion but which are eating into the vitals of the country. This was wellexemplified during the Tarakeshwar Satyagrah which was really a campaign to purge our religion and holy places of accumulating evils. The masses were roused then as they were never before. Just like new Turkey, we must break the barrier of social limitations and religious fanaticism. This will set free the dynamic force latent in each of us which has at present got choked."

A Victory of Untouchables

Hindus belonging to high castes of Ampalapuzzha (Travancore) presented in the court of the District Judge of Alleeppey a petition for an injunction restraining the so-called untouchables from using the temple roads. The Judge held that the plaintiffs made out no prima face case as they had no proprietory or even possessory rights over the temple roads. The Judge further held that the alleged custom on which the plaintiffs relied in support of their petition was unreasonable and opposed to the sense of public right and enlightened view among people, as the plaint themselves admitted that the roads were used by Christians and Mohamedans and even by non-caste Hindus (i,e,m so-called untouchables) on conversion to another Faith. On these grounds the judges dismissed the petition. So far the victory appears to be on the side of the down-trodden, though it does not appear to be final. As it is, it touches only the fringe of the problem. The fringe will, however, have to

be admitted to be the proper field of beginning the struggle for the assertion of justice when the wronged party has, hitherto, been the unapproachables as they are properly called in South India.

A night School for Untouchables

The Depressed Classes Society of Baraset (Bengali,), of which Raisaheb Kunja Behari Bose M.A., B.L. is president and Babu Sital das Mukerjea is Honorary Secretary, are going to open a night School for the boys of the Depressed Classes.

Sharddhanada Sanyasi

Swami Shraddhanand

Swami Shraddhanand will go to Ambala to attend the Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference on 24th April.

Work Before India

Swami Shraddhanandji Statement in 1922

In his statement submitted to the Congress Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee in 1922, Swami Shraddhanand said :-

"I do not believe in working the constructive programme merely for the purpose of enabling the Congress to launch Civil Disobedience. I believe in working it for its own sake and have full faith that if Civil Disobedience of laws is abandoned, even then the constructive programme worked with faith and enthusiasm is sure to lead the Country to Swaraj. By entering the councils, the no-co-operators will be able to work the constructive programme more effectively but it could only be done usefully, if the idea of Civil Disobedience was abandoned for the future. To enter the councils for preparing the country earlier for Civil Disobedience and nonpayment of taxes is a travesty of terms.

"As to Hindu-Muslim Unity, although outwardly there is no friction, I have noticed in all the provinces that in their hearts the Hindu and the Mohamodan communities have become suspicious of each other. One reason appears

to be that while the Sikhs and the Mohamedans are organised among themselves, the Hindus as a body are disorganised. The remedy, to my mind, lies in Hindu leaders organising their own community and the Mohamedan leaders laying more stress on the attainment of Swaraj than on the Khilafat.

"My impression about nonviolence is that while the spirit of nonviolence appears outwardly to be professed, in their hearts people do not believe in nonviolence and their speech and mind are full of violent ideas.

"Individual Civil Disobedience or isolated mass Civil Disobedience can do no good to the movement. If Civil disobedience is to be launched, it must begin simultaneously in all the provinces. But before doing that, it ought to be distinctly advertised by the Congress that it will not be responsible for any violence which is committed by any person or body of person outside the Congress organisations. The Congress should, on no account, stop its work of Civil Disobedience of laws when it is once launched.

"The non-co-operation movement has produced wonderful self-consciousness in the nation and has achieved within a year and a half what can be called the work of half a century. Repression has not cowed down the movement. (If there is no repression in Delhi, it is because the Congress organisations have been practically sleeping in this province.) The Bardoli Resolution sounded the death-knell of the enthusiasm with which the whole country was permeated. The Delhi Resolution failed to resuscitate the smothered spirit. If mass Civil Disobedience can not be launched (which appears to be the general opinion of the leaders in all the provinces) with the condition proposed by me, it is highly advisable to abandon all kinds of Civil Disobedience and to concentrate the whole energy of the Congress Organisation upon the constructive programme. If faith in the constructive programme can, somehow, be injected in leaders and people, there will be no necessity of knocking at the doors of the Councils and the National Movement will become so strong and effective that the

bureaucracy will be driven to bay in no time and a decisive battle will be fought."

Liberation from Drink

"Far around as human breath has over blown, the demon of intemperance keeps our fathers, our sons and our friends prostrate in the chains of moral death. Of our political revolution of 76 we are all justly proud. It was the germ which has vegetated and still is to grow and expand into the universal liberty of mankind. Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tryrant deposed; in it more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it, no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it, none wounded in feeling none injured in interest." So said Abraham Lincoln who liberated the slaves of America and thus liberated the world of slavery.

The eighteenth amendment (Prohibition of Drink Traffiac) has led to the following results in the United States of America :-

(1) The closing of 250,000 drink shops, 600 distilleries and 1300 breweries.
(2) The abolition all over the country of those jails and workhouses now no longer needed.
(3) Better food, better clothing and holidays for the people.
(4) Four years on an average added to each human life.
(5) One million more members of the various religious bodies.
(6) Substantial decrease in the deathrate. (In New York it has fallen from 16 to 11.7 per thousand.)
(7) Decrease of infant deathrate (In New York in one year from 85 to 71 per thousand.)
(8) Committal for drunkenness in New York reduced from 3465 in 1917 to 149 in the last recorded year.
(9) Alcoholic and drug patients admitted to hospitals only 2.7 percent of the total cases in 1921 as compared with 18.8 percent in 1911.

(10) Park benches once filled with destitute people now empty.
(11) Former penniless drunkards now have banking accounts.

If this is what Liberation from Alcoholic drinks has done for a wealthy country like the United States, how much will it do for a povertystricken country like India?

Perpetual Slavery

Mahatma Gandhi sent the following message which was read in a public meeting on 13th April 1926 at Bombay:

"The wanton Massacre in Jallianwalla Bagh, that took place on the 13th day of April 1919, is a perpetual reminder to us that it will recur as often as we attempt to life our heads and desire no longer to live in bondage. British rule is imposed on India not for India's service but for her exploitation. It is indeed to protect the commerce that it is imposed upon India. The central item of that commerce is Manchester piece-goods. If we will avenge the humiliation of Jallianwalla and the Crawling lane, we must at least cease to wear foreign cloths and pledge ourselves to wear handspun Khaddar. The former sterilises British Commerce, the latter binds us to the poor whom we have neglected all these long years. Though not exploiters of the outside world, we have exploited the peasantry in order to have ease and comfort. If we refuse to discard foreign cloth, if we find Khaddar too uncomfortable, so far as I can see, we must accommodate ourselves to perpetual slavery. All the reforms that we may get will be thrown in the dust if we are afraid to sacrifice ease, comfort and much more for the sake of the country."

On March 12th responding to the toast of the Chamber of Commerce London, Baron Irwin said :

"If the peace and good order, that British Rule had hitherto offered, was the best security for progress on the lines of equal justice and liberty for peoples of India and for the discharge of duty that history had laid upon us,

that same peace and good order now to be given up to India through the instrument of extended partnership with peoples of India formed a not less indispensable foundation of the livelihood of thousands of British work-people, who depended upon British-Indian agreement. Here circumstances had conspired to combine Indian and British indissolubly together in a common enterprise which claimed from each and all of them the best service it was in their power to render."

Shuddhi in Madras

Reconversion (Shuddhi) work in Andra Province is begin pushed on by Pt. Keshavdev Gnani, under the guidance of Swami Shraddhananda. During his last tour in the Madras Presidency, the Swamiji reconverted 2018 souls from Christianity to the Vedic Dharma at Kuralli, in the Ellore District at the end of November 1925. Since then Pandit Keshavdev (a graduate of the Hardwar Gurukula Vishva Vidyalaya) has been working among no-Christians and has reclaimed hundreds for the Vedic church.

In March last he reconverted 2 families of Christians in Bhungivaram consisting of nine souls. Then in Venukur village, at a distance of 10 miles from Bezvada, a respectable Christian family consisting of 12 individuals was taken back in the Aryan fold. Only recently, in their village, some 20 Hindu families became Christian. Vedic propaganda is being extended to them. In the last week of March some 64 Christians were reconverted in Gudivada, Vernavaram, Gadewadi, Vedalamannad, & c.

Shuddhi in Bombay

(1). Mr. Shudabax Dhulabhai and (2) Mr. Kurbanalli Krishnabhai, who were converted to Islam about eight years ago, were reconverted to Hinduism on 9th April 1926 according to the ritual of the Hindu Missionary Society. Mr. S.B.Vaidya acted as Acharya. Their names hereafter will be (1) Khodidas Dhulabhai and (2) Kuberdas Krishanadas.

A bold experiment

During the National Week, an experiment, which for Nagpur is certainly very bold, was tried. A public Pansupari attended by a good number of citizens of all castes and classes was given to the untouchable brothers in the Town Hall Maidan on 12th April.

Oudh Hindu Conference

The Second Provincial Hindu Conference held at Lucknow passed unanimously a resolution asking for the removal of untouchability and for such measures in pursuance of it as throwing open of public places like Schools and Colleges, Temples and Wells for the use of untouchables. This was moved by a Sanatanist.

On the motion of Raja Rampal Singh supported by the Raja of Mahowa, the Kuwar of Amethi and Swami Shraddhanand, a resolution favouring the Shuddhi movement was adopted. In his speech, Swami Shraddhanand entered into a historical survey of the ways and means of conversion adopted by the Semitic religions. Supporting himself with facts and figures, Swamiji told the audience that there were one crore Musalmans and thirty-four laks Christians who still retained the mode of living that they had before conversion from Hinduism. The first need was to bring back these people to the faith they originally belonged to. The Catholic Vaidic Dharma would surely assimilate them. It was unjustifiable to suggest that the Shuddhi movement made or would make the political atmosphere more tense.

Shuddhi Conference at Lucknow

The presence of Swami Shraddhanand was availed of for holding a Shuddhi Conference at Lucknow on the 16th March 1926. In his presidential address Swamiji quoted facts and figures to show the gradual decline of the numerical strength of the Hindu community. Swamiji further added that the Hindus were face to face with a very perilous and critical situation. They had to choose between extinction

on the one hand and conversion on the other. Swamiji welcomed as a fortunate sign the interest taken by Pandit Malaviya who was the most orthodox protagonist of Sanatan Dharma in this movement. It augured well for the Hindu community. Swamiji emphatically urged the need for the creation of better and sturdier Hindu men and women who could protect their life and honour.

The Gurudwara of Swaraj

Mahatma Gandhi has sent the following message to Sikhs :

"The sooner the brave Sikhs put their house in order, the better it is for them and India. Bravery is simple never complex. It is dignified never shoddy. It is noble, never mean. It is ever forgiving, never revengeful. It ever sheds its overprotective fragrance about it, never strikes terror. Wherever it goes, it is guarantee of peace not war. It is an eptitome of concord, never spells discord. Do the Sikhs satisfy all these tests ? If not, it is time they did. For they are pledged to free not merely the Punjab Gurudwaras but the Indian Gurudwara of Swaraj."

A Lesson and a Warning

Several months ago in Bombay Presiding over a meeting addressed by Mr. A.V. Thakkar the untiring worker in the interests of Aborigines of India, Mr. Gopal Krishna Devdhar of the Servants of India Society gave a glowing account of the work done by the Christian Missionaries for the hilltribes in Assam and in other provinces. Quite a good proportion of the audience rather disliked the eulogy showered by Mr. Devdhar on the Christia Missionaries. Thereafter Mr. Thakkar went on a study tour which extended over a few months. As a result of his study in Assam, he has written an article on the Assam Hill Tribes which has been published in the columns of "The Servant of India" dated 15th April. Mr. A.V. Thakkar is a member of the Servants of India Society and the present President of the

Bhil Seva Mandal of Panchmahal District. Much as we would desire to reproduce the whole article, we must satisfy ourselves with just a few quotations which will illustrate the failure of Hindus and the achievement of the Christian Missionaries.

"The Welsh Calvinistic Prebyterian Mission with its headquarters at Shileong has been working in the Khashi and Jaintia Hills for the last 84 years. According to the last census of Assam, 41000 out of about two laks of the total Khasi population are Christian. The Presbyterian Mission spends a very large amount in conducting educational and medical Institutions. It has nearly 500 Primary Schools in this and Lushai Districts and receives a Government lump grant of about Rs. 20000.

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Look at this picture and then look at the picture of what Hindus or Indians have done for these tribes :

"Although the Seng-khasi or Khasi Association has been in existence for about a quarter of a century, its activities and work have been very meagre. It maintains a negative attitude inasmuch as it is animated by the counterevangelical motive."

We have no desire to find any particular fault with Sengkhasi or with Assam. It is the same story all over India. When non-Christian khasis make the complaint that "Christianity alienates the khassi convert from his social and cultural contact with the khasi people as a whole," they are in reputable company. When Aryasamaj workers go to the parts South of Nerbadde and take steps to improve the lot of the Depressed or to reconvert "the forcibly converted," there are not publicists wanting who charge them of doing these acts simply out of the desire of adding members to the Aryasamaj. The effete communities will do nothing themselves and will only malign the virile Arya Community.

It is a general defect. Many of us are prone to condemn individuals and institutions who, for selfish or selfless motives, are doing something for the downtrodden. The easiest charge against any individual in India busy in such a work is to damn him as a government man. It may or may not be a fact. Assuming such a charge is correct, do we not hear such charges made against several persons in turn? Whether the charge is correct or not, the more reasonable and partiotic courses is to undertake the work ourselves and do it better; the course of damning the other worker is not going to be helpful. Even the government is as much a fact as the downtrodden communities. If a person or persons succeed in clothing a thousand sweepers with foreign cloth supplied free by say the C.I. : Department, there is no merit in condemning the person or persons as traitors. Such an condemnation is neither honest nor partiotic nor humaniarian. The right course for people, who dislike an activity of the above-mentioned variety, is to supply Swadeshi cloth to the nude sweepers or still better to give them Khaddar and Charkhas. Condemnation of the person or persons, who in any way and with any motives, take the slightest relief to the needy is heartless and amounts to following the 'Dogn in the manager' policy. In one of he Vernaculars of India, there is an adage "The mother does not give food, the father does not allow to beg" : the result is that the child starves. Hindus will not enable the untouchables to rise sufficiently to become voters of Legislative Councils. But if the untouchables ask to be placed in a separate category outside the pale of Hindus, these will attack them as unnational and their leaders as traitors. How long will such a policy serve ? The advanced Hindus will not care to go into the jungles and hilly tracts to improve the material or moral condition of aboriginal tribes. But if Christian Missionaries risk their lives sacrifice their comforts and spend money in their own way to 'civilise' the aborigines, the Hindus will at once rise in loud protest. Not that these protests harm the Christian missionaries. Any

friend of human beings will ask these clamorous Hindus what right they have to condemn the Christian missionaries for doing what manifestly is the Hindus' duty and is neglected by them. He will be entitled further to ask whether these out-bursts of protestation are meant only to cover up their shame.

There are several hilltribes in Punjab. The Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference is to be held on 24th and 25th April at Ambala. In that district also there are hilltribes. The president of the Conference is to be Dr. Munje who presided over the All India Shuddhi Conference held at Delhi and who was the author of a large number of reconversions in Malabar. Will the Conference consider measures for bringing the Hilltribes within the pale of Aryan Culture ? Or will the· pay no need to the neglected until some Christian Missi ›naries have taught a lesson and have given a warning. H·ndu will fail to learn the lesson and to take the warning only at peril.

Council Election and Hindu Mahasabha

At the Oudh Provincial Hindu Conference I was obliged to protest against Pandit M.M. Malviyaji's strictures on the present leaders of the Congress and his irrelevant remarks which were beyond the scope of the resolution on which he was speaking. My remarks have been treated by opposing political camps according to their own several mentalities. While moderate liberal papers, like the "Leader" of Allahabad, have contented themselves with simply ignoring the whole incident, the extremist Swarajist paper of Lucknow, edited by a Swarajist M.L.A. has interpreted it as a split in the Hindu Camp. I would have left the whole incident where it was, if there had not been a few inaccuracies in the otherwise faithful report of the gist of my speech wired out by the A.P. reporter.

I have the greatest respect for Pandit Malviyaji for his patriotism and persistent work for Indian political awakening. As his humble colleague in the Hindu Sangathan movement

I have on several occasions avoided coming into conflict with him in open meetings. But there come occasions when not to speak out is a sin against society and on each occasion I do not mince matters. And I have invariably found that Panditji understands my motive and takes everything I say in a sportsmanlike spirit.

When the question of the Hindu Mahasabha running candidates for the Assembly and the Councils came before its Subjects Committee at Delhi and such a staunch Swarajist as Lala Lajpatrai sponsored a resolution which, while holding that ordinary the Sabha would not put up its own candidates, allowed the Sabha to oppose any Hindu candidate put up by any of the political parties who was considered to be undesirable from Hindu point of view, I supported it. But while discussion was going on and Bhai Parmanandji expressed his intention of moving that election of all Hindu candidates ought to be run by the Hindu Mahasabha, Lalaji accepted an amendment moved by a chela of Panditji to the effect that the Hindu Sabha should also be given the power to set up its own rival Hindu candidate wherever necessary. It was then that I supported Lala Dunichand's motion negativing all the conditional amendments and simply holding that the Hindu Mahasabha shall not take any part in elections. My reasons, for this were twofold.

In the first place the amendments were against the express dictum of the Sabha. At the end of Rule 5 laying down the objects of the Sabha, a note says :- "The Mahasabha shall not side or identify itself or interfere with or oppose any particular sect or sects of the Hindu Community or any political party, nor shall it interfere with the personal convictions of any body." Now the Hindu Mahasabha is composed of nochangers, Swarajists, Nationalists, Dr. Besant's Homerulers, moderate liberals, Government servants and even Ji-hazoors. On what ticket are the Hindu candidates to go to the Councils ? Unless a general meeting of the Sabha, called for this special business, elects to eliminate the note as regards political parties and decides its political

aim and lays down its political creed in express terms, it will be inconvenient for the Sabha to set up stray candidates even simply for the safe-guardian of Hindu interests while allowing them to vote in all national matters with whatever party they like to attach themselves to.

In the second place, by taking the election of Hindu candidates on its own hands, the Mahasabha will help in further disoganizing the Hindus instead of helping in their Sangathan. And further it will play into the hands of those whose sole aim in life is to wreck the Indian National Congress; for, rightly of wrongly, I think the Congress to be the only link with all the efforts at Indian national emancipation of the past. If that movement goes, it will be impossible to raise another such structure for the next hundred years.

Well, Lalaji's amended resolution was passed in the Subject's Committee by a majority. The next day Bhaiji again pressed for his own resolution. Lalaji said he would not move his resolution because he had accepted it only as a compromise. Panditji prevailed upon Bhaiji to give up his proposal and thus Lalaji's Compromise alone came before the open session. I had given up any idea of speaking out there, but when Panditji unnecessarily attacked the Swarajya party leaders I asked permission of the President (Raja Narendranath) who was right in not allowing me to speak even for 5 minutes, because the speeches of Swami Satyadeva and Bhai Parmananda, while supporting the Sangathan resolution had gone far beyond their sphere and these leaders of Hindu interests had slashed the Congress and the best political leaders of the country right and left. And Lalaji and Malviyaji also had not spared each other. When the time for voting came, I stood up and voted against the resolution. But, the Sabha having passed the resolution with and overwhelming majority, I bowed my head and supported it in the Lucknow conference. The Lucknow resolution simply instructed the Oudh Provincial Hindu Sabha to have lists of desirable Hindu candidates ready, so that if the Working

Committee of the All India Hindu Sabha thinks any Hindu candidate set up by any of the political parties to be undesirable, it may have a list ready from which to choose a desirable candidate.

After the Delhi resolution was passed, I met both Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and wanted them to arrive at some understanding as regards Hindu candidates . But unfortunately for me, brother Malviyaji was thinking of creating a separate Nationalist party. Nehruji was not free to promise anything without consulting his party and thus my efforts were nipped in the bud. Brother Malviyaji wanted me to help his new party, but before me met me again, his still-born party had merged into the United Nationalist party. And now brother Malviyaji is engaged in the noble work or reconciling the Swarajists and Responsive Co-operationists under the aegis of Mahatma Gandhi. If he succeeds in that noble work and himself joins both in order to bind them to each other firmly, I will call God's blessings on them all. Then, time will no be far off when the United Nationalist party will also merge itself into the true National ford, if the portals of the National Assembly are thrown wide open to each and all.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Editorial Observations
The Hindu Mahasabha

So long as communal organisations keep within their limits, they become sources of strength to the Nation. The Khilafat organisation was of this kind at lest till the Lausanne Treaty. The people in the country are bound to be divided on some lines and the thing most necessary not to allow these dividing lines to degenerate into castes is to have organisations of different varieties. Persons, who oppose each other in political matters, may meet together on the platform of Social Reform. Persons, who are opposed to each other in economic matters, may meet on the platform of communal reform. Persons, who are opposed to each

other in religious matters, may meet on the literary platform. Such meetings prevent mere differences from becoming permanent. They do not allow watertight compartments to grow and harden. They afford the opportunity of finding points of agreement among persons who differ on some one point. They make the tyranny of parties impossible.

A Common Platform

The Hindu Maha Sabha has been started with the object of affording a Common Platform to all Hindus in virtue of their inherent status, irrespective of their political or economical creed. From the anarchist bombthrower to the member of the Criminal Investigation Department employed to Shadow Mahatma Gandhi, every Hindu must have access to the Hindu mahasabha subject, of course, to certain conditions pertaining to the religious faith. This Sabha is intended to devise and enforce as far as possible measures for the consolidation, the amelioration and expansion of the Hindu Community. The creed of the Sabha must not introduce anything which does not directly concern the Hindus qua Hindus. The programme to be, at any time, adopted must be free from accretions not germane to the main entity.

His Countrymen

It was in connection with the Police of Punjab that Sir John Maynard said that the Police were drawn from the people of the Province and possessed the merits and demerits of the people. Would Sir John desire to apply the same principle to Mr. Acton's Are unpunctuality, unmannerliness and meddlesomeness the general merits and demerits of Mr. Action's countrymen ? Mr. Acton has probably behaved as alleged under the impression that the Home Member of U.P. being a Mohamodan, he could with impunity treat any Arya in any manner he liked. The recent sequence of actions taken in several Districts again Arya Samaj processions lends colour to this hypothesis. But this is the limit even for a member of Islam. No Musalman is going to encourage the spread of Christianism.

The Blessings of the benign British Rule

The action of Mr. Acton contains almost all the blessings of the benign British Rule. Even though a member of the Depressed Classes be appointed to the District Board, he must not have his judgment or his conscience ! Who ever meant that nomination was really for safeguarding the interests of those classes who could not get representation through election ? It might be said ; but it is viciousness to suggest that it ought to be brought into practice. The theory of trusteeship is very necessary and has to be the subject of eloquent speeches to be delivered by Viceroys and British Statesmen who have the ear of the world. What simple folk they were if they expected that Actons would follow this theory in administration ! An Act of Parliament said that Education and Local self-government were Transferred Departments. The Act is meant for Newspapers. What has it got to do with the great historical institution "Collector" ? He has no time to attend to these trifles ! The Minister or Ministers and for that matter even the Home Member cannot touch a pie of his salary. You need not stop there. Ministers and Indian Members of a Governor's Executive Council are to learn their lessons in Government at the feet of Acton !

Untouchability removed

Fifteen families of Dhanaks, who belonged to the so-called untouchable class, consisting of some fifty individuals were taken into the Aryasamaj fold after the performance of Yagna according to Vedic rites at Sangrur in Jhind State. Sweets distributed but them were partaken of by the majority of the persons belonging to socalled high castes present.

The Mysore Chronicle of Bangalore in its issue of 11th April 1925 writes :-

"We welcome the entry of Swami Shraddhananda Sanyasi into the feld of Indian Journalism as the Editor of a New English Weekly, The Liberator. With the growing

impulses of the Nation - Counsels are being divided - and cleavages are beginning to appear. Leaders are followed often with enthusiasm - and as often condemned as bigots. It is becoming necessary, therefore, for every school of thought and for every leader whose voice carries far to have his own agency in the shape of a journal of put forward his point of view unequivocally. Swami Shraddhanandaji is a staunch protagonist of the movement for Hindu regeneration. He is devoutly followed and he is bitterly condemned. This paper serves the real need of keeping people in touch with the thoughts of a great Hindu reformer from week to week."

[The Liberators, 22 April, 1926]

Rights of Arya Samajists & Duties of Hindus in General
(By an Arya Samajist.)

The Nagar Kirtan Processions preceding the anniversaries of the Arya Samaj have been prohibited by the Government authorities at many places. The reason given for this curtailment of the civil rights of a section of the public is that Muslims do not like that music should be played before their mosques at prayer time. As it is often difficult to exactly decide the time of the beginning or end of muslim prayer, the matter has been settled by summary rejection of the applications submitted by the Arya Samaj. In other places such humiliating conditions have been imposed that the Arya Samajists have preferred to stop the Nagarkirtan rather than submit to them.

As from the very start the Arya Samajas have been freely taking out religious processions with music without any hindrance or conditions, this new prohibition by the Government must be the result either of justice or of policy. It is submitted that it is not the result of Justice, but of policy. There can be no Justice in snatching away the established rights of a community simply because another community has suddenly begun to dislike them. There is no religious or moral sanction behind the objection raised by a few fanatic muslims. Quoran has nowhere asked muslims to forcefully stop music before mosque at prayer time. In India even in Pathan or Monghal period, we find no reference to such general prohibitory orders. There is no religious

foundations for the muslim or public roads is accepted in all civilised countries. In India, the right of the Arya Samajists to take out religious processions with music has been established by usage. So the objection by musalmans, and the consequent prohibition by the Government is not based on Justice.

The muslim objection is a kind of retaliation for the conversion activities of the Arya Samaj. Islam is a proselytising Faith. For centuries it has been converting Hindus into muslims. Hinduism was in a kind of sleep while Islam was reaping easy harvest in India. Mahashi Dayanand Sarawati knocked the passivism, laziness and ignorance out of the Hindu brain and made the Vedic Faith assume its original overexpanding form. It is the right of the followers of every religion to spread it by all peaceful and legitimate means. This right has been accepted by all civilised nations. There is only one condition. Methods adopted must be fair. Nobody has a right to enforce his right in such a way as is capable of hindering the proper enjoyment of the same right by others. Subject to this condition, every citizen of a state has a perfect right to enjoy freedom to spread one's ideas among others. Samajists are perfectly just in their claim that as Muslims are free to convert Hindus to Islam, Hindus must be free to convert Muslims into Hinduism. This simple and clear proposition has been resented by muslims. Muslim objection to Nagar Kirtan of the Arya Samaj is not based on any religious sentiment. Anybody, standing at the gate of Jumma or Fathepuri Musjid in Delhi at prayer time, can test the genuineness of muslim objection. Tram way cars and Motor cars are making defending noise precisely at the place where religious music is prohibited. Shouts of petty shopkeepers are louder here than in any other parts of the City, in spite of which the prayer goes on without any fear of its being unacceptable to God. But religious music can not be tolerated. Is it justice ? I there any logic in it ? Muslim objection to music before mosques will appear rather to be the result of mental irritation.

It may be said that the Government has nothing to do with justice or logic. As long as muslims object to a thing, and as long as there is a possibility of breach of peace, the Government can not but act in the way in which it has been acting. Our reply to this kind of argument is that the Government's behaviour in such cases has not been uniform. One instance will suffice. Take the case of Pahari Dhiraj, Delhi. Hindus of that locality strongly object to muslims taking out cows for sacrifice from adjoining pertions of Sadar Bazar. This locality is mainly inhabited by Hindus. Their objection is based on religious sentiment. Then there has been a danger of breach of peace. If the Government were consistent, it ought to have prohibited muslims form taking out cows from these portions of Sadar Bazar. But no ! muslims have a right to use that street. If Hindus can not tolerate it, let them shut their eyes. Cows were taken out with the help of armoured cars and naked swords. Right and justice is every thing, mere sentiment nothing. Well, let the Government stick to this tune of thinking. But no ! When the question of Hindus' rights comes before the Government, its angle of vision is changed. The Government has nothing to do with first principles. It has to do with law and order. As muslims are angry and there may be a trouble, Arya Samajists should either stop their Nagarkirtan or should accept humiliating terms.

So it is clear that there is no question of justice before the Government. It is only a question of rank expediency. The present policy of the Government is, to the core, pro-Muslim. To break them away from the Swarajya movement, the Government wants of please them in everyway. At least this is the impression that is created on the mind of a Hindu. Arya Samajists think that they are being made victims of a political game by the Government. It must he made clear to the mind of the Government, that the Arya Samajists are not going to take all this humiliation lying down. They do not want to be made scapegoats or victims of a crooked political policy. They want to be judged by their own actions.

The Government can not quote a single instance where Arya Samajists have broken the peace. They have always suffered. It is Muslims who have always been aggressors. Is this the reward of peaceful nature of the Arya Samajists ? To become privileged, should they also take to rowdism and defiance of authority ? At least this is the lesson that the present policy of the Government is teaching peaceful Hindus.

I shall make a present of a quotation from the chief organ of Liberalism "the Servant of India" dated 15th April 1926 : "There have been complaint eloquently voiced by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in his recent Kamala lectures, that the Police too often resort to denying the peaceful citizen the exercise of his undoubted right for fear of other citizens taking offence at it and creating trouble over it. If the police had anticipated trouble, it would still have been their duty to protect the legal right of the Aryasamajists to take a procession with music before the mosque and not to deny them the right in order to avoid the muslims in the mosque taking objection to it."

The prohibitory orders having been issued in so many different provinces, the situation, that has arisen, is an All-India situation and is, therefore, the concern as much of the Government of India as of the people of all provinces. It also behaves all Hindus, whether Aryasamajists or not, to express their resentment at this unjust interference. The Government is apparently following the policy of "divide and conquer." This was the policy which secured them the dominion of India. Are Hindus going to remain indifferent with this knowledge ? The Hindu Mahasabha has unanimously accepted the principle of Shuddhi at Delhi. The Aryasamaj has been actively putting that principle into practice. Will the Hindus in general not raise their indignant voice to condemn the official action against the Aryasamaj?

Swami Sraddhananda' engagements

Incessant night journey and speech-making have told on Swamiji's health; consequently the remaining three

engagement have been cancelled. Local responsibilities and urgent literary work demand the whole of his attention of some tome to come. It is hoped that Swamiji's refusal to join Arya Samajic and other public functions outside Delhi will not be misunderstood.

At Delhi his time for ordinary interviews will be between 3 and 6p.m. daily. Special interviews can be arranged by referring to the Private Secretary, 17, Burn Bastion Road.

Joint Editor.

Dr. Munje on Live Hinduism

"As compared with the present mentality of 'Hinduism, 'nothing can give you a better idea than this verse that however enervated the Hindus may have been with the continued and prolonged propaganda of Budhistic "Love and non-violence" and of "Non-violence is the highest virtue "अहिंसा परमो धर्मः" of the Jains of the time, they were still a living race and had not lost all it civility, imagination and capacity of adaptation to the changing circumstances of the times. The Hindus of the time were brought up from the time immemorial, on the unchallangeable truth, that one's religion is a matter of his faith and cannot be changed under force or fraud like clothes as was done lately in Malbar."

Dr. Munje on Mohammedan Annoyance over our Shuddhi Movement

"Why should Mohammedans feel annoyed over our Shuddhi movement? A village has been losing its cattle. An incident happens which suddenly awakens the people to the losses it has been sustaining and the Headman of the village warns the village people to buck up and be on the guard. The village gates are closed and the cattle are not allowed to stray feely as before. The village tiger thus loses his chances of easy prey. He is starved. The pangs of hunger become intolerable. He loses all sense of proportion and gives fee play to his brutal satanic instincts. He tries to tear and demolish the frail village gates, or jumps over the

lowly village walls and commits indiscriminate depredations in his ferocious anger; for how can he live and grow fat and multiply without such depredation? This is exactly what has happened with our Mohammedan friends."

Babu Brijkishore Prasad on Shuddhi and removal of untouchability

"What is Hindu Sabha doing ? Almost all sections of the Hindu Community were unanimous with regard to the desirability of Shuddhi and the removal of untouchability. There was a time when the Hindu Community was extremely narrow in its outlook. If any member of that community by chance happened to take food or water touched by a Musalman - it might be due to ignorance, weakness, pressure or some such thing - the Hindu community at once mercilessly boycotted him with the result that he immediately went over to the other community and thus was lost to the Hindu Fold. No one ever wanted to go out of his own community. The people boycotted by the community were always desirous of being readmitted a man or a woman went out of his community for the sake of any religious conviction. The community at last became awakened and began to take back to its fold those people who had been unjustly and mercilessly treated by the community. Where is any cause for complaint if a member of one's own house, who had gone over to the other house but was desirous of coming back to his own of his own free will, was lovingly admitted into it? How is it opposed to Nationalism ? Not to admit him would be an act of gross injustice and would be entirely opposed to all canons of justice and nationalism.

"The so-called untouchables were untouchables because of the very unjust treatment meted out to them by Hindus. Therefore it was but the duty of the Hindus to solve this problem, to remove their disability and uplift the untouchables. .... But it was indeed a pity that the Hindus had done very little for Shuddhi and removal of untouchability beyond passing resolutions in the Sabha ......

The weakest point of the Hindu community, where it was likely to be effectively attacked by other communities, was the problem of untouchablility. It was a great blot on the Hindu community. It was true that other communities had also their caste and class prejudices in social matters but nowhere else existed this problem of untouchability in such a rigorous form as it did in the Hindu community. It was these untouchables who protected their hearth and home, their places of worship in times of distress. Would it not be ungrateful to keep them as untouchables any more ? The moment an untouchables embraced another religion, he ceased to be an untouchable ...... It was extremely necessary to solve this problem without delay. "

Untouchability Removed

On the Ramnavami day i.e., 21st of April, the Suddhi of nine untouchables was performed at Bolarum (Deccan) in the presence of two hundred persons belonging to the so-called high castes. Sacred threads were given to them by Swami Jagdkshwarananda and they were initiated by Mr. BajKishan Rao B.A., L.L.B. of the High Court of Secunderabad. After some Vedic recitals, pritibhojan was given to all irrespective of caste creed and colour. Nearly a week before ie., on 13th April, fourteen untouchables were so initiated into Vedic Faith in the presence of about one hundred persons by Swami Jagdishwaranand.

The population of untouchables of Hyderabad is nearly fifty thousand and of Secundrabad more than two thousand. Most of them are strict vegètarians and have firm faith in Arya Samaj. Some powerful leader ought to tackle with them. He can even reclaim a number of converted Christians.

Shuddhi in Andhra

"Kurmarddali" is big village at the distance of nearly 12 miles form Gudivada in Guivada Taluq. Some ten years ago, a few Roman Catholic Missionaries went there and converted 18 Mala families to Christianity. They applied in

last march to the Secretary Andhra-Aryan-Mission, Guntur, that some of the workers should be sent to their village and after due ceremony they should be purified and admitted into their original caste again. Accordingly, Pt. Keshav Dev Gnany of Guntur, Mr. Daliparti Venkat Ramaiah and Sundru Venkaiah went to Krumarddali on 17th April and by the sacrificial fire, kindled with vedic-mantrams, conducted the Shuddhi ceremony and reclaimed ten families consisting of 30 members.

Since November last, 1925, the work of "Reconversion" is going on, in Guntur and Kistna districts, under the Andra-Aryan-Mission. So far, as many as 500 panchama-christians have been purified and formally re-admitted into the Hindu society. Many more applications are powering in. Altogether, there are, in this province alone, over three lakhs of Panchamas, who have been converted to Christianlty and truly speak ng, all of whom ought to be reclaimed if Hindus want to l've and organize themselves.

The big brother on the Warpath ! Why ?

Anglo-Indian papers like the Times of India, who were loud in their praise of my mission of rescuing Hindu untouchables out of the clutches of Muhammadans and muslim Nationalists like the Ali brothers who, led by Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, acknowledged and conceded the right of conversion to the Hindus, have gradually veered round and are showing themselves in their true colours. The Times of India was only playing a game in the beginning of 1924. When it found that no amount of flattery could succeed in wheedling me into the meshes of British bureaucracy, I became, in its eyes, the "militant Sanyasi" and the "fighting Swami." And since then it has not lost a single opportunity of saddling the Shuddhi and Sangathan propaganda with the responsibility of Muslim-Hindu riots. To the Anglo-Indian papers of that species my only answer is a dignified indifferences,

But the sudden change of front on the part of the

quondam unadulterated nationalists like the Ali Brothers cannot be brushed aside with a simple gesture of indifference. The Khilafat Committee and its chief promoters, nurtured by Mahatma Gandhi with Hindu money, have turned round and are preparing to join hands with Sir Abdul Rahim and others of that ilk in order to take Muhammadan bullies under their special protection for the purpose of crushing the, only lately roused, spirit of Hindu resistance. What the Khilafat Committee wishes to decide has already appeared over the signature of the big brother (Maulana Shaukat Ali) in the Khilafat newspaper of Bombay. But before formally passing the foregone proposal, the Khilafat Committee appointed a Sub-Committee of 12 persons to discus the whole question with Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru specially in view of the Calcutta riots .... In case the Conference with Hindu leaders failed, they would adopt some particular programme of work, mainly in self-defence of the muslims. In pursuance of this dictum of the Khilafat Committee, Mrs. Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru were closeted with the Khilafat leaders for hours on the 24th and 25th April, but no decision, it is said, was arrived at. It is also rumoured that Mahatma Gandhi will be approached at Sabarmati. And if the Ali brothers succeed in including Mahatma to make another pronouncement like that of Juhu against the Arya Samajists, their hands will be strengthened in their Jehad against the Arya Samajists in particular and the Hindus in general.

Let me warn the chief supporter of the Khilafat movement that they are counting without the host in expecting Mahatma Gandhi to make such a pronouncement. But if Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu and Pandit Nehru to arrive at some understanding with the Khilafatists without consulting Hindu Mahasabha leaders, their decision will fall on deaf ears among the Hindus. Are the Ali brothers sure that they have got any influence with the Muhammadan masses? At the present moment they have lost their influence even with the muslim classes, to my mind. Then why are

the Ali brothers holding this forlorn hope ? The Hindus ceased to help the Khilafat and its institutions long ago and the Musalmans followed suit when they saw lakhs upon lakhs being swallowed up by individuals in the name of an institution which has disappeared from the muslim country where it flourished for centuries. With the disappearance of the Khilafat, the Khilafat Committee ought to have ceased to exist. But there could be no appeal for the Khilafat Fund if the Committee came to and end; hence it is being kept up simply to enable the promoters to get the sinews of war for their struggle to remain in limelight. The appeal for Khilafat falling flat upon muslim classes and masses both, the brothers are prepared to stand forth as champions of Muhammedan bigotry and bullyism, if, by that means, the coffers of the Khilafat Committee are replenished. The big brother adopted non-violence only as a policy against the British Government, but if it comes to standing against the aggressive Arya Samajists for pure self-defence, the huge militating maulana will take up the cudgels in order to punish recalcitrant Aryas.

To be serious - Maulana Shaukat Ali's statement is, to say the least, full of misstatements and misleading insinuations. He lays the blame of beginning the breakage of Hindu-Muslim Unity "on some prominent nor non-prominent Hindu began the game. The news of Muhammadan atrocities in Malabar had roused the suspicions of even prominent Congressmen among the Hindus and, if they like, they can confess publicly that it was I who told them not to entertain the least suspicion. Then came the Bardoli resolution which put an end to all Congress activities and gave occasion to mischievous to Musalmans, to sacrifice cows freely during the Bakri-id of 1922, because some Parsi Councillor had moved the Bombay Municipal Corporation to disallow the killing of young cows up to a certain age. Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan Saheb can testify to this fact if he likes. It was I who again restrained the Hindus from following the advice of mischeifmakers amongst them.

Then came the Muhammadan atrocities at Multan with which the Muhammadan leaders could not cope and the Hindus smarted under their sufferings. It was then that the idea of organizing the Hindus practically on the lines which had been chalked out in the Hindu Mahasabha meetings from 1915 to 1921, first arose in the mind of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. When Hindu shops had been looted at Meerut in broad daylight in which even Musalman politicals joined and at several places Hindus had been mercilessly beaten, their sacred places desecrated and even their womanhood outraged, that I made a tour in order to organize the Hindus.

The beginning was really made by Muslim classes at Multan and it was nursed by Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the Punjab who was patted on the back by almost all the Muslim Khilafatists and Congressionists of the land of the five rivers. In fact there was no Hindu-Muslim Unity in existence when the movement of Shuddhi and Sangathan began, and therefore none of these movements can be said to have been the cause of the present tension.

The big brother naively says that he had been approached, several times, by his Muslim brethren to allow them to organize their community so that they might not be injured owing to their negligence. The Muhammadans neglient ! Let Amethi, Gulburga, Kohat and a lost of other places answer. As long as the patient Hindu went on suffering unmurmuringly, the Muslim leaders were satisfied except for some hits on the downtrodden ones but now that the sleeping tiger among the Hindu masses has been roused and the ruin of both the communities is certain, they are raising a hue and cry. But they must remember that all this is their own work and that those who sow the storm must reap the whirlwind. With the Persian poet I say : ए बादे सबाई हमाम आवुरद ए तुस्त ।

Let me appeal to my musalman brethren direct. Sir Abdul Rahim and company have their own axe to grind; the Ali brothers have their own position to maintain and the Muhammadan mullahs are after catching their own gull

(ullu sidhan karna). You, who will suffer with your Hindu brethren if the present state of affairs continues, I entreat you do discard the leadership of interested persons and to get in touch with those who are your natural leaders; let them take counsel with their Hindu brethren, those who really lead the Hindu community, and then call in even those, who have their vested interests to serve, in both the communities; let them arrive at some permanent solution about the future.

But as long as the mischief makers are at work, no solution appears possible. Let the Hindu leaders look to keeping their own community well in hand so that while defending the honour of their ladies, the bodies of their individuals and the sanctity of their Dharma, the masses may not overstep the bounds of morality in imitation of their opponents. Let me appeal to my Hindu brethren to seek the protection of the law of the land and while appealing to the Justice and duty of the British Government, let them be ready to protect their religious and social rights even at the risk of sufferings involved by individual civil disobedience. And lastly, a work of advice to the British Government. It is not by yielding to the most boisterous, defiant and threatening among its subjects that it can keep its hold on the Indian people, because the defiant and threatening ones are in the majority of cases bullies and cowards. It is by maintaining every citizen in the enjoyment of his rights with strict impartiality that the prestige of a Government can he upheld.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

The Younger brother's Anathema against Hindu leaders

The big brother had only shown the path and laid the foundation. The Younger brother has completed the structure and deserves the thanks of both the Hindu and Muslim Communities for laying his heart bare.

"Bare mian to Bare mian, chhote mian Subhan-ullah."

The Khilafat Committee, is now, for the first time, "determined to satisfy every religious, social, 'political', economic and education need of Indian Muslims" - but there is a proviso - "provided that they (the Muslim Public) supply the men and THE MONEY needed for such a comprehensive enterprise." Then why not change the name ? Why retain the name Khilafat ? The reply is - "Khilafat not of the type of dynastic Khilafats of he Amayyides, Abbassides or of the Ottoman Turks, but of the type of the first four Khalifas who are known as the truly guided." Surely the Khilafat is dead but 'long live the Khilafat' as long as the influence of the Ali brothers endures. Maulana Mohammed Ali then goes on to insinuate that some Hindu leaders, who were left without followers when Mahatma Gandhi took up the leadership, began their machinations when Mahatmaji and other leaders were imprisoned and painted the Muslim colleagues of the Mahatma in black colours and estranged the Hindus from the Mahatma. This is a libel pure and simple. And I said in the last meeting of the Unity Conference which was held in Delhi in February 1925, I still maintain, that if the Hindus lost faith in the Mahatma it was due to his own treatment of the Hindus.

M. Mohammed Ali is again wrong in saying that the Khilafatists 'condemned any excess that they detected on the part of Muslims in Hindu-Muslim affairs.' He for gets his own elder brother's part in refusing to saddle the Muslims with the responsibility of Kohat atrocities and differed from Mahatmaji's view. He is again misleading the public by saying that the Muslims failed to organize themselves while the Hindu Sangathan is complete. I wish it had been a fact, but it is not. M. Mohammed Ali dreams of Hindu leaders having turned tanaties. I ask him where are they ? Echo answers 'where'.

The big brothers says that they shall have to fight the bureaucracy and the Hindus both and the younger brother takes up the cry. But does he remember the last meeting of the Unity Conference Sub-committee when being

challenged by Sir Abdul Qayum to give my constructive programme for obtaining Swarajya, I answered that Swarajya would only be possible when Hindus become so highly organized and strong that they could withstand the onset of the bureaucracy and Muslim jihuzoors combined. Is not the present war-cry a mere plagiarism ? And as regards Hindus monopolizing all the crumbs that fall from the festive board of the bureaucracy to the exclusion of Musalmans, Sirs Fazl-i-Hussain, Abdur Rahim, Abdul Qayum and others of that ilk must be laughing in their sleeves at the ingenuity of their new champion. It must be news to many that Hindus want to annihilate Muslims. But let the Maulana warn his own coreligionists also not to forget that the alien bureaucracy, for its own reasons, will no allow the total annihilation of either community.

M. Mohammed Ali's lengthy tirade ends with a misstatement which has been held out by the big brother also. He finishes thus. "Khilafat Conference will have to restrain Musalmans whom it can not wish to be imitators of Hindu fanatics. But it can not wish to make them cowards and even if it does it will not succeed."

Khilafat to restain Muslmans! when Maulana Mohammad Ali has joined hands with Khwaja Hassan Nazami and both are daily preparing Musalmans for the coming Jehad ! And then telling at the end plainly that even if the brothers try to restrain them they will not succeed, suggesting thereby that Muslim fanatics will raise such a storm that the Hindus would do well to fall at their feet if they wished to escape the conflagration that would follow.

Having finished my reviews of the Maulana's new statement let me exhort brother Shaukat Ali and brother Muhammad Ali not to fight shy of the promoters of Shuddhi and Sangathan. Instead of trying to obtain fatwas from Mrs. Naidu and Pandit Nehru, (for Mahatma Gandhi will not interfere) let them, with the assistance of Maulana Abul Kalam Ajad, Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan and others, meet Pandit Malaviya and other Hindu leaders for the

purpose of devising ways and means for saving both the communities form mutual destruction.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

The Spirit of Unity

If. the Conference held in Bombay some weeks ago for bringing the Indian National Party into existence has had one offspring, it is the Sabarmati pact of the "nine". That conference was charged to having been convened simply for the purpose of building up a body to fight the Congress. If this charge has any basis, a similar charge may be made against the Congress leaders who met at Sabarmati on 20th and 21st April viz. that they met simply to devise means to devatalise the "Indian National Party." Lala Lajpat Rai almost says so : others do not. It was the possibility of a good number of Maharashtra nationalists going over to the Indian National Party or going out of the Congress which was the mainspring of the Sabarmati Conference. Mr. Jayakar did actually accept a seat on the committee appointed by the Bombay Conference. Being too astute a lawyer for even his brotherlawers, he kept one foot within the Congress fold and the other in that committee. It was as if he said to the Nehru Party : "Look here, it is worth while for you to woo me. Why should Motilalji be the only boss ? Make me a joint boss and see how I shall again address meetings in the Marwari Vidyalaya with all my linguistic and dialectic battery showering abuse upon abuse on the devoted heads of the Moderates." He said and said it with effect. Pandit Motilal knew that Pandit Malaviya was against him. Lala Lajpat Rai, definite in statement but indefinite in mind, could not be relied upon as against those who appear to have secured a monopoly of being dubbed 'Tilakites'. Pandit Motilal thought discretion to be the letter part of valour and Lala Lajpatrai has secured the triumph of his life by succeeding in killing (as he thinks it) the New National Party.

To kill the hydra-headed monster-as one publicist chose to call the New National Party- another hydra-headed monster, this pact of "the nine" has been generated at Sabarmati. Sir Michael O'dwyer might gush with tears of joy to read the terms. If the "Morning Post" and its henchmen Lord Sydenham and Co., wish to find fresh evidence to prove that Indians can be governed only by autocratic or bureaucratic methods, Sabarmati convenant of the "nine" will supply it. We have had a pact in the past at Calcutta. But there it was the Swaraj Party that was one of the parties to the pact. Here "nine" individuals enter into a pact which will now be placed before the All-India Congress Committee. If you examine the list, you can at once see the disproportionateness of parties. As against six Responsive Co-operators there are two Swarajists and one nondescript. Out of the two Swarjists one has left India. Pt. Motilal Nehru is the only Swarajist who will place the "Pact" before the Executive Council of the Swaraj Party. Has he signed as leader of the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Party ? Let the Official Statement issued on 21st April answer. "this agreement has been subscribed to by the undersigned in their individual capacities." Now Pt. Motilal, having signed the pact in his individual capacity, will make it a question of confidence in the meeting of the Swaraj Party Executive and bully them into accepting it. After that is accomplished, Mrs. Naidu with her prestige as President and Pt. Motilal will jointly bully the All-India Congress Committee into submission. This "Fatwa" will thus be forced upon the body of Congressmen and will supersede the decisions of the Cawnpore Session of the Indian National Congress. Certainly a remarkable success of the "amused spectator" ! Well may it be asked, if Congress decisions, which are arrived at after deliberation by the body of delegates who come from all the distant corners of India, are to be so superseded by Ukases, where is the justification of holding these annual demonstrations at such huge expenses and at such a tremendous inconvenience to thousands of delegates ? The

Congress may permanently be dislodged by the All-India Congress Committee. Such an arrangement will save time, money and energy.

We must make up our minds whether we are going to be ruled democratically or autocratically ? If our choice is for a democracy, Congressmen must make up their minds and must for once make a stand against these superimposition. And this is the best occasion, because from the Congressmen's point of view the nine individuals' agreement is not acceptable even on merits. Let us again quote from the statement :

"It is hereby agreed by the undersigned subject to confirmation by the All-India Congress Committee, that the response made by the Government shall for the purpose of clause (a) and (b) of the Resolution 11- B (4) of the All-India Congress Committee dated March 6 and 7, 1926 be considered satisfactory in the provinces if power, responsibility and initiative considered necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to the Ministers and the sufficiency of such power, responsibility and initiative in each province shall be decided in the first instance by the Congress Members of the Legislative Council of that province subject to confirmation by a committee consisting of Pt. Nehru and Mr. M.R. Jayakar."

The clause (a) referred to above says :-

"Congressmen in the Legislative shall refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response is made by the Government." At one deft stroke of the pen the agreement of the "nine" simply removes the Congress form this resolution and in its place enthrones "the Congress members of the Legislative Council of each Province" with the duarchy of Nehru and Jayakar. When the Congress is removed from the Woolsack, the lesser stroke of defining what satisfactory response means need cause no surprise. It is not any the less important, however. The response will be deemed satisfactory "if power, responsibility and initiative considered

necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to the ministers."

This is altogether unsatisfactory. We are already receiving reports of dissatisfaction expressed in many quarters. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said : "The pact did not appeal to him." Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar and Mr. T. Prakasam have expressed themselves unfavourably. Mr. J.M. Sngupta has refused to say anything. The new desideratum is of a very low order : it does, in so many words, accept dyarchy; it does, in so many words, accept dyarchy; it promises to work dyarch; it declares that dyarchy is quite workable. These are the implications of the new position. All, that the Congress party want or rather will want if this pact of the "nine" becomes law for Congressman, is certain terms to be agreed to by the Governor of any particular province. If the Governor of any province be sly enough to agree to them, the Congress party will nominate Ministers who will rush in to work dyarchy. Once inside the parlour, the Ministers will be acquainted with "Reasons of state" and will be asked, as in honour bound, to become party to so many of the doings of the Government. If even on the single occasion the Congress Ministers have to take the help of Government men to carry through the legislature any insignificant proposal of theirs, these Ministers will have to support the Government on a dozen occasions.

That is the danger. Therefore no permission ought to be given to Congress members to form and support a ministry in any province, unless there be a solid and clear majority in its Legislative Council working with one mind. The ministry may be formed only where such ministry is and during the lifetime of the particular council will be in a position to carry every proposal of theirs through the council even in spite of the solid opposition of the Government. If there be such a majority, it will not be necessary to inquire whether the necessary power, etc. are available to the ministers. They shall be available if Government desire to work the Constitution, because if they are not, there will

be no ministers and Government will be forced to abolish dyarchy and the reformed constitution. Indeed with such a clear majority, the Ministers may succeed in dictating even to the Reserved half.

If, on the other hand, there be not such a solid clear majority of Congressmembers and or members who agree to co-operate with Congress members in any provincial legislature, no understanding with the Governor of that Province shall be made the basis of a ministry. Such an understanding will seriously compromise the position of the Congress party in the Council and of the Indian National Congress. The All India Congress Committee must revise the "pact of the nine" in the meeting to be held at Ahmedabad on 4th and 5th May.

This is the position and these are the considerations, which are effective so long as the Congress, as at present contituted, is our sole perspective. If, however, the perspective be widened, the position will be different and different consideration will come in. Signs are not wanting that indicate the coming of the spirit of Unity through the abundant superficial disunity. The President of the Cawpore Congress has invited members of the National Party to Sabarmati. If they are invited with a serious purpose and if a wider common platform is really to be attempted, the whole position will have to be considered anew. As the "Bengalee"', the organ of Byomkesh Chakravarty the tried Nationalists and the leader of the other party in the Bengal Council without whose support Deshbandhu could not have killed dyarchy in Bengal, says, "the attempt at reunion that we are referring to is not to be understood as a meeting merely to ratify the Sabarmati Pact but a Conference at which the whole question of the Congress policy may be reopened." A Conference of different sections of Nationalists will be welcome if it leads to a better and broader understanding. And if such an understanding be arrived at, a special session of the Indian National Congress may be called for the consideration and adoption of that understanding with or without modification. Anything that leads to the

strengthening and widening of the great National Organisation is a blessing. The canker of Communal hatred, that is eating into the values of the Nation, can be attacked only by strengthening the National organisation of the country. We welcome the Spirit of Unity and wish it substantiates itself.

Remarkable Acquisition

Two weeks ago, Shri Shankaracharya Bharati Krishna Tirthaji performed a memorable function at Jesawada situated eight miles from Dohad, an important station on the B.B. & C.I.Ry. It is all the more remarkable because Sri Shankaracharyaji was against the removal of untouchability. The Bhils of Gujarat are looked upon virtually as untouchables if not worse. A temple was built at Jesawada for Bhils and God Rama was intalled therein by Sri Shankaracharyaji. We have already whom why Rama is the fittest God for the worship of Bhils and published that the ceremony of Spiritualising the stone image was appointed to be performed on Ramnavami which fell on Wednesday 21st April 1926. Viewed from any point of view the function was a remarkable acquisition. Hinduism has acquired a large addition of virile men and women and children. The Bhils, who number one lakh out of the total population of a lakh and a quarter in Panchmahal District alone, have hitherto been classed as Animists i.e. non Hindus. Bhils, who were kept beyond the pale of any religion, have acquired a religion with an embodiment and a place of worship. Seth Samaldas Bechar of Baroda, who donated Rs. 2500 for building the temple, has acquired spiritual bliss by helping to take the light of religion to the aborigines. Mr. A.V. Thakkar, whose faith in religion in general and idol worship in particular was open to doubt, has acquired the realisation that not only religion as commonly understood but also idolworship has a place in the inner development of human mind. The Bhils and their friend-guide-philosopher Mr. Thakkar have acquired a great friend in Sir Shankaracharyaji.

And, the most remarkable of all, is that Sri Shankaracharya Bharati Krishna Tirthaji has acquired a solicitude for the aborigines and a consciousness of his duty to carry the light within him to territories that have it not.

Who can think of Rama without remembering Agastya Rishi? He was the greatest Aryan pioneer and probably the first to cross the Vindhyadri ranges and go to the Southern parts of India. The History of those ancient ages has, often, to be merely guessed. Tradition is our only guide. But there are certain traditions which can be verified. All of us have been taught to look upon one of the most resplendent stars in the Southern half of the Heavens as Agastya. This cannot be without a significant meaning. While all the seven greatest sages have been accommodated in the North, why has Agastya alone been isolated in the South ? We have the tradition that Vindhyadri rose so kigh as to make it impossible for the Sun and the Moon to do their daily durites. It was Agastya who went to the Mountain and told him to sink lower so that Agastya could pass. And to prevent the Mountain from ever attempting to repeat his wilful extravagance, Agastya told him to remain low until be returned. Agastya never returned and Vindhya is as low for ever. Tradition goes on to say that the great sage pursued demons Vatapi and Atapi, one of whom was devoured and digested. The other betook to the Ocean which was drunk by the sage who had afterwards to pass out the water which accounts for the Salt Ocean. This origin of the Ocean is referred to in the dialogue of Sita and Lopamudra the mate of Agastya for justifying the building of a bridge between Rameshwar and Ceylon. The most specific Soul will have to admit that the general belief was that Agastya was the first Aryan torch bearer to travel as far South as the Southern extremity of India. He was the first to preach the message of Vedas to the original inhabitants of the South. He was followed by others who established colonies in various geographical units. It was for these Aryan Colonists that the greatest Aryan political power had to be called

to the South. Of these Colonists and Missionaries, Agastya was the pioneer.

We venture to call Shankaracharya Bharati Krishna Tirthji one of the Modern Agastyas. He gave Rama - both spirit and body - to the Bhils of Gujarat. He claimed the Bhils as members of Aryan races, aborigines though they might be. We speak of Shuddhi i.e. reclamation. We reclaim what is lost. If these Bhills were Aryans at any time and then were lost, we might say we reclaimed them. If they were might say we reclaimed them. If they were ever Aryanised, they have ever been so : they have only to be given the consciousness once again. If they were never Aryanised, we have simply to claim them, to acquire them. And speaking from the Census Officer's point of view, Hinduism has to acquire them. For such acquisition it is a great stroke to have secured the offices of the most adventurous of Shankaracharyas of today. Mr. Thakkar, who belongs to a warrior caste, has done all that a Kshatriya could with the help of Godloving Vaishyas. Without that preliminary work, the offices of the Shankaracharya would have been of no avail. Indeed in this case we find the Kshatriya doing the most difficult part of Agastya's Mission. The crown of his work was installed by a Modern Agastya because a sage alone could do so. May his example inspire others ! He will have an ample return if others go the way he has beaten. There are certain gifts which enrich the giver as well as the taker and religion is such a gift. Mr. Thakkar and his donorfriends are richer today for the energy and money they have given. The Shankaracharya is higher today for his having helped to raise the Bhils a little higher form the plane they were treading.

The Emancipation of Hindu womanhood.

The condition of a Hindu woman is deplorable. She is no longer considered to be a free agent. It is written in the Manu Smriti, IX, 3__.

पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने।
रक्षन्ति स्थाविरे पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमहर्ति।।

"The father protects in virginhood, the husband protects in bloom of youth and sons protect in old age; woman is not worthy of independence."

Not only this : there is a common adage prevalent among modern Sanskritists that woman is obsessed with fourfold sensual desires compared with man.

But it is strange that in another chapter Manu gives the highest place to the women.

There he says:-

यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः।
यत्रैतास्तु न पूज्यन्ते सर्वास्तत्राऽफलाः कियाः।।

"Where women are honoured there flourish men imbued with truth and right eousness; but where they are not honoured, there all acts are fruitless." (Chapter iii, 56).

What is the reason of this selfcontradiction ? Surely there must be some mistake in assigning the true meaning to the word (Swatantryam) in Chapter IX. Instead of meaning to disallow independence of will and action to women, Manu, perhaps, lays down that they should not be compelled to earn their own living __ and for a very good reason; because they have to take care of the household. Says Manu in III 55 :- "Let women be always worshipped by their father and brothers, by the husbands and the brothers of their husbands and let these provide them with food, clothes and ornaments, (if they seek) great prosperity and happiness. " And then in verse 59:- "Let women, therefore, be always honoured by being given food, clothes and ornaments and thereby made happy by those men who are desirous of wealth and prosperity."

But even if the prevailing Manusmriti purports to enslave womanhood, it is not to be followed in this respect because it flatly contradicts the Vedic texts where women are given equal position with men. In the marriage Samskar

they meet on equal terms. Their vows are mutual and if Pativratadharma is inculcated on women Patnivrata is equally enjoined on men. And where a Smriti goes against the dictum of the Shruti (Veda) it is to be abrogated, as acknowledged by Manu himself.

It is misinterpretation of the text of Manu that has resulted in Hindus treating their women as chattel. A father has the right of Kanyadan (giving away his daughter) in marriage; a husband in hilly tracts and some other places disposes of his wife to a stranger for a consideration and sons are considered to have the right of surveillance over their mothers. According to the present custom among Hindus, a woman has no right to remain Brahmacharini for life; but we read of Gargi and other learned ladies remaining single throughout life in the Vedic period. Even the present edition of Manu Smriti, which contains many spurious verses, lays down in one place that a woman is free to choose her own mate -

त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षते कुमार्युतुमती सती।
ऊर्ध्वं तु कालादेतस्माद्विदेत सदृशं पतिम्।।

"Let a woman wait for three years after she has begun to menstruate and then let her choose for herself a husband who in her equal." And the Veda clearly lays down -

ब्रह्मचर्येण कन्या युवानं विंदते पतिम्।

"After leading a life of Brahmacharya and being highly educated a woman chooses her own mate."

How can a minor girl of 10, 8 ,6 or even one year of age choose her own mate ? The question of the minimum marriageable age, for woman and men both, has been settled by Rishi Dhanwantri in the Ayurveda Shastra (the Science of life) - 16 for a woman and 25 for a man. And if this rule is not followed, then, says Dhanwatri:-

"If a girl under 16 conceives of a man under 25 years, she very often miscarries; if not and the child is born at full time he does no live long; but if he lives, he is nothing

but a wealing; never should, therefore, a man have sexual intercourse with a girl of a very tender age." It is plain, the, that a girl should choose her own mate and never may before she is full 16 years old.

Then as regards sexual desire among women. It is a liberal, pure and simple, manufactured by the male sex whose very demoniacal sensuality drags down the better half of humanity to the lowest level. Let us turn to the Vedic period and learn from the author of the upanishads their estimate of women in sensuality. In the Chandogya Upanishad Maharaja Ashwapati, speaking of the conditions prevailing in his own Kingdom says :-

"In my Kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress." How could there be an adulteress unless there was an adulterer ? न स्वेरी स्वेरिणी कुतः। How significant are these words ! Woman whether Hindu or non-Hindu - is originally a Devi, matrishakti, pure in though and deed; it is man who dragees her down to his own hellish level.

The purity of woman with respect of sexuality is proved, even in the present degraded age, from illustrations. I read only recently in a Bombay Paper - "At Bombay a Hindu married girl, 13 years old, fell from a roof and was killed. The jury in coroner's inquest held that the girl committed suicide for fear that her husband would forcibly have sexual connection with her." To this add the heartrending story of a girl aged a little above 13, who has only recently been discharged form the 'Vanita Vishram Ashram' (rescue home for women.) I will call her पीडिता (the violated). Pitida was married in a poor peasant family. She was made to work night and day and poor girl ! she bore all kinds of torments inflicted by the mother-in-law. But when her husband, more than twenty years old, forced sexual connection, she fled away and adopting the habit of a boy sought protection in an orphanage. After 3 months or so, she feared detection

and left the orphanage too. She fell into the clutches of an old man who sold her to a Halwai for Rs. 200. The Halwai and his servant forcibly violated her and she contracted siphilis from one of them. Then she was taken to Delhi and was being sold for Rs. 5000 when the Ashram people received information and the girl was saved from a life of prostitution.

The girl is now 13½ years old. She was treated by a medical expert and was cured of the fell disease. But wherever marriage was mentioned she entreated to be educated for 2 or 3 years more before she was asked to marry. And she gave out that she was a child widow. But the Police made enquiries and it was found that her husband was living. Her father-in-law was brought from his home by the Police and the ashram people gave her in his lawful custody. Being a Hindu girl she could not get released from her husband's custody, however reluctant she might be to submit to sexual connection. But it is a fact that her life of some months in the ashram was a life of chastity.

Comment on this is needless. Tragedies like the above are daily enacted in a hundred Hindu families and the consciences of the educated Hindu public remains untouched. Is there no remedy for this inhuman practice which is at the roof of half the evils under which present day Hinduism is growing ? The remedy, in my humble opinion, is simple. Let 'Swayam vara vivah' (marriage by choice) be the order of the day and as freedom of choice for a girl under 16 years of age is meaningless let the Hindu Community, as a whole,. decide to treat marriage of underage girls null and void. It is the only way of giving relief to the womanhood of India and at the same time, saving Hindu families from the undesirable interference of the Police under the provisions of the 'age of consent' law. Honour Hindu motherhood and you will escape the dishonour of being a weak and slavish community.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Editorial Observations

Welcome,

Great as are the victories of war, greater still are the victories of peace, Such a victory has been won after a ceaseless and anxious struggle by our voluntary ambassador, Mr. C.F. Andrews who returned to Bombay on 1st May and was given a welcome by all parties in Bombay irrespective of colour, creed and caste. It is reserved for rare personages to receive such a welcome in these days and Mr. Andrews is one of such rare persons. The sole credit of rousing the conscience of the very White men in South African Union belongs to Mr. Andrews. Without this awakening all the efforts of the deputation sent by the Ex-Viceroy and the 'delicate negotiations' would have gone to dogs. Principally as a result of that awakening aided, of course, by the efforts of the Government of India, the Bill introduced in the Union Parliament for throwing the Indian Community out of South Africa into the Indian Ocean has been temporarily held over pending consultation at a Round Table Conference between the representatives of the Governments of South Africa and of India. Probably this is the only good legacy inherited by Baron Irwin from his predecessor who is now Marquis of Reading. We extend a hearty welcome to our ambassadorand hope Baron Irwin will make full use of his exceptional abilities.

Behar Provincial Hindusabha Conference

It is to be noted with satisfaction that the Behar Hindu Sabha Conference has not followed the Oudh Hindu Conference in the wong course of resolving to run elections on behalf of Hindu Mahasabha. It is much to the credit of Babu Brijkishore Prasad and others that in that province the Hindu Sabha will go on devoting its attention solely to the work of regeneration and reconstruction. For such work there is limitless scope in that Province. In Chota Nagpur alone there is work enough for hundreds of workers. It is by working in its proper field that the Hindu Mahasabha can render really national service. If it gets embroiled in

the ephemeral politics of the council elections, it will find itself in danger zone. In what measure the Hindusabhas of several provinces will cure the ills and remove the abuses affecting the Hindus themselves, in that measure the Hindu Mahasabha will have done the best political and really national work.

A Happy Departure

It is now authoritatively known that the Acting Governor of Bombay has invited Mahatma Gandhi to Mahableshwar for an interview in connection with the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India of which His Excellency Sir Henry Lawrence is a member. To the best of our knowledge, Mahatmaji is on his way to Mahableshwar. Certainly this is a very bold departure on the part of a Civilian and all the happier on that account. It is, however, difficult to resist the impression that this graceful novelty has not been originated by Sir Henry Lawrence but rather by the "Countryman" who happens to be the present Viceroy and who appears to have begun well in this direction.

Liberation through Co-operation

At the Second Annual General Meeting of the Municipal Sweeper's Co-operative Credit Society of Kurla (near Bombay), the Chairman announced the redemption of four members of the Society from their old debts during the course of the year.

Novel and Happy

The Reception Committee of the Bhavanagar State subjects' Conference unanimously elected Mr. A.V. Thakkar as the president of the session which is to be held on 12th and 13th May. Before Mr. Thakkar paid his attention to the aborigines, he had devoted his energies to give some relief to the Depressed Classes in Kathiwar for which he received from Gandhiji title which may roughly be translated as the spiritual guide of Dheds. It may be mentioned here that Mr. Thakkar is himself an original inhabitant of

Bhavnagar. His interest in the Depressed Classes has, indeed been, fortified by his new and vigorous love for Bhills in particular and aborigines in general. Naturally he asked the Reception Committee as to what arrangements were being made to accommodate members of the untouchable classes within the pandal. Equaly naturally a very lengthy discussion (we do not with to speculate as to its temperature) took place and a novel and happy decision was arrived at, which has satisfied all parties.

A division by conviction

The decision is to make two different blocks, one to accommodate those who believe in untouchability and the other those who do not believe in untouchability. This decision has abrogated the division between the socalled higher castes and the socalled untouchable classes. Persons will not be asked to go to this part or that part of the pandal in accordance with their birth. They will go to this or that part according as they are willing to admit that the socalled untouchables are also so many human beings or as they insist on their privilege to perpetuate the wrong of treating them worse than dogs. Their beliefs of today will divide them according to this decision. This will remove untouchability to some extent and will also put of the test the strength of conviction of those of the highest castes who are enthusiastic in their speech about removal of untouchability.

Liberation of Slaves

Nothing need surprise us in these days and the existence of slavery close on the other side of Bengal can easily be believed. About four months ago, the Government of Burma deputed Mr. Barnard to the Hukawng Valley in Assam to prepare a scheme for the liberation of slaves. He has finished his mission. He has elevated 3500 beings from the position of chattel to that of humanity. They had to be paid for and Government had to spend about two laks for this man-

acquisition. Only those who were above sixty were not paid for. These newly acquired human beings have been satisfied to Kamaing and Mogaung or have been given land in Hudawng Valley and settled as farmers.

No Knowledge

It is said that in the wild Naga Villages, there are indications of human sacrifices still prevailing. The newly acquired human beings have been hereditary slaves. It was only when some of them rebelled against their masters and entered the British territory that the existence of this institution in close proximity came to the knowledge of British Officers. That is nothing striking. The British Official looked upon them as slaves merely because their masters were not Whites. What are the coolies of the Assam Tea plantations and Behar Indigo plantations if not slaves ? What is the position of numerous Southerners whom the missionaries tie to Christianism through the loans lent to them and whom the Aryasamaj is now attempting to redeem ? What is the position of the poor Madrasees who go out to the Malay peninsula ? What is the position of the East African Natives the original masters of the soil who are forced to work on starving wages for the white settler ? Is there any British Officer who dare call them slaves ? Slavery does not exist where Britishers or any variety of Whites exist. We need not be surprised at the ignorance about the existence of slavery : the surprise is that they were recognised as slaves. It will be no surprise if these liberated beings are enslaved again by some big institution. The surprise will be if they will be left alone and be allowed to keep their newly attained status.

Redress Necessary

Swami Ramanand Sanyasi, Secretary, Dalit Udhar Sabha Delhi has sent to us for publication three Resolutions protesting against and seeking relief from the unjustifiable action of the Municipal Board of Gaziabad. One of the

resolutions is passed by the Executive Committee of the Depressed Classes Hindu Mission of Gaziabad, another by a Public Meeting of the citizens of Gaziabad, and the third by the The Dalit Uddhar Sabha itself. All the Resolutions make the same demand viz. that the residuary powers vested in the Executives Officials must be used in this case to right an otherwise incorrigible work. The Party actually to suffer from the impugned action are the untouchable classes who have no representation worth the name on any local bodies and whose trustees the British Government have always declared themselves to be. We ask the self-constituted trustees to justify the title.

Babu Rajendra Prasad on Untouchability

In the Chapra Session of the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference, Babu Rajendra Prasad moved the resolution concerning the untouchables, to remove obstacles against them so far as public schools, public wells, roads and meetings were concerned, to ask the temple authorities to afford facilities for their worship and request the untouchables to give up drinking and eating dead animals. He said that it divided itself into three parts, first what the Hindus were expected to do, the second, what the authorities of the temples were expected to do, and the third, what the untouchables were expected to do. He said he wanted the resolution to have been a little more forward, but he accepted to move the resolution as it was, for it carried the most conservative among them along with him. Out of 22 crores of Hindus the untouchables numbered 7 crores, and their treatment of them was simply inhuman. Even cats and dogs were allowed to move about in their housed but the untouchables were not allowed to approach them. But as soon as Dome became Mr. Domingo, they considered it a privilege to shake hands with him. That was a shame. It was only their unparalleled devotion to religion which kept them in it, though it was treating them in the way it was doing. But how long would they continue to do so ? They were after all human beings. They had

also a heart that felt. And if any attacks were made on the community, it was first the untouchables who fought for it. It was certainly not proper to reward them for their services in the way they were doing. It was time they at once allowed them freedom in drawing water out of wells and in sitting with them in schools and colleges. Fortunately, the question of walking or roads did not apply to them. It was time the temple authorities made arrangements for their worship. He was unable to understand what right one man had to prevent an other man form seeing God. He also expected the untouchables to purify themselves by giving up drinking and eating dead animals.

The Dream in my heart

In his latest volume named "Temple of Freedom" T.L.Vaswani says :-

"What India piteously needs in her present distracted state is a message of 'Shakti'. It means a new faith in ourselves, a new consciousness of India's destiny, a new appreciation of the ancient ideal and its dormant forces for saving civilisation, a new understanding of the two vital things in modern life viz. Science and Democracy, a new education, a new health crusade,. a new respect for the body as Krisna's Temple and matter as vehicle of the spirit and a new reverence for God as Father of the Poor.

"India must be reborn into shakti. Hence the necessity of a new Education. Our Schools and Colleges are preisoncells. They keep out the Sunshine of Indian ideals and Indian culture. This isolation of modern India's brain from the mighty soul that made Aryavarta a model nation in the long ago - This is the tragedy of our life today !

"I send out this little volume in the hope that some among the nation's youth may hear the call of the dream in my heart. It is a call to cast away comforts and careers in the one service of the Mother. For this dream is not maya. This dream is a darshan of life."

[The Liberators, 6 May, 1926]

On the Threshold of Politics

The session of the Viceroy's Council, that year, was principally taken up by the consideration of these two Bills. Almost all the Indian Members showed a united front in opposing these measures. Mr. Srinivas Shastri had delivered a splendid speech. His arguments were unanswerable. Every patriot spoke with fevour and logic but Mr. Shastri's speech appeared to me the most forceful. But the Government was stubborn and moved not an inch. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya came to me with a message that all the members proposed walking out if there was no response on behalf of the Government at the end, but that they were not sure of Mr. Shastri. I was asked to work upon him, because they knew that through my relations with the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, I had some influence with Mr. Shastri. I went to see him in the metcalfe House. On my being seated Mr. Shastri said - "Have you seen the new vagry of your Mahatma Gandhi? Please read this. I must issue my protest against it." The words are indelibly fixed in my memory.

The issue of the 'Leader, ' in which Mahatma Gandhi's plea for Satyagrah was published, was handed over to me. After reading merely the preamble I said - "It is the first principle of human rights. I, myself, am ready to sign it. Did not Gandhiji consult any of you before issuing his manifesto ?" The reply was that not only this - that Gandhiji sent round his manifesto to all the Council members and even to the Viceroy but that he asked them to convince

him if he was in the wrong. He was open to conviction. I urged Mr. Shastri not to stand in the way of a just cause, and said :- "Why should you go out of your way to protest against a measure for which you are not responsible? If you do not agree with Gandhi's view, you may not join the movement." Mr. Shastri's reply was that he must publish his own protest against Gandhi's Ukase and my counter reply was that I must wire at once to Mahatma Gandhi that I had signed the vow of Satyagrah as a protest against the Rowlatt bills.

In the Satyagrah Army

When I came back to my Ashram I opened that day's 'Leader' and found Mr. Shastri's protest Ukase already there. I at once sent the following telegram to Mahatma Gandhi, he himself was on his way to Delhi. The next day Gandhiji reached Delhi and put up with Principal·Rudra of the St. Stephen's College Delhi. Why he put up with Mr. Rudra rather than with any other person in Delhi, the following letter addressed to me will explain :-

"Phoenix, Natal, 21st October 1914."

Dear Mahatmaji,

Mr. Andrews has familiarised your name and your work to me. I feel that I am writing to no stranger. I hope, therefore, that you will pardon me addressing you by the title which both Mr. Andrews and I have used in discussing you and your work. Mr. Andrews told also how you, Gurudeva and Mr. Rudra had influenced him. He described to me the work your pupild did for the Passive resisters and gave such word pictures of the life at Gurukula that as I am writing this I seem to be transported to the Gurukula. Indeed he has made me impatient to visit the three places described by Mr. Andrews and to pay my respects to the three good sons of India who are at the head of these institutions.

I remain,

Yours,

Mohandas K. Gandhi "

Some of the allusions in the above letter require elucidation. In 1914 Gandhiji had again revived passive resistance in South Africa. Mr. Gokhale had appealed for some lakhs to help the passive resisters but response was not coming. The Brahmacharies of the Gurukula collected about Rs. 1500 by denying themselves milk and ghee for a month by working on the Hardwar Bund as common labourers during three day's holiday. This money was wired to Mr. Gokhale and the message reached him when he was on the point of despair. In talking of my disciples he alludes to that. By Gurudeva he means the world poet Dr. Ravindarnath Tagore. This letter was the first that I received from the Mahatma as I dubbed him afterwards when he went to the Gurukula in April 1915, and it was the last that he addressed to me in England. The reason was that I sent my reply in Hindi with the remark that one who wanted to make Hindi the rashtra-bhasha (national language) had no right to correspond with his countrymen in a foreign language.

Shraddhanand Sanyasi.

Mahatma on Cochin

"One learns in lawbooks that crimes and immoralities do not enjoy the benefit of prescription. Their antiquity cannot make them respectable. But it is evidently otherwise in the Cochin State. Who can deny that the custom of untouchability is immoral, barbarous and cruel ? Thus the laws of Cochin State are in a way much worse than of South Africa. The Common Law of South Africa refuses to admit equality between white and coloured races. The common law of Cochin bases inequality on birth in a particular group. But the incidence of inequality in Cochin is infinitely more in human than in South Africa; for an untouchable in Kochin is deprived of more human rights than the coloured man in South Africa. There is no such thing as unapproachability or invisibility in South Africa. I have no desire to single out Cochin for its disgraceful

treatment of untouchables; for it is still unfortunately common to Hindus all over India more or less. But in Cochin besides the socalled sanction of religion, untouchability has the sanction of the State. Mere levelling up of public opinion, therefore, can be of no avail in Cochin unless it becomes so strong as to compel the State to abolish the barbarous custom."

NATIVES STATES

We publish elsewhere a letter from the Ex-Maharaja of Nabha in connection with the last communication sent by the Ex-Viceroy (now Marquis of Reading) to H.E.H. the Nizam, the two most important paras of which we published in our issue of 8th April. The point raised by the Ex-Maharaja of Nabha is one with which we are not today concerned. Nor are we delighted by the decision of the British Government not to return Berar to H.E.H. the Nizam. The attitude of the British Government in this respect is one of hopeless inconsistency and absolutely void both of moral and progressive consideration. It is nothing letter than "Heads I win, tails you lose." These Native States provide to the British Government the formula to justify any action of theirs. The British Government can interfere or refuse to interfere when and as it chooses. Nay, the Native States supply the lever to the British Government for curtailing the legitimate liberties of British India. We may go a step further and allege that these Native States do for British Breaucracy what the latter cannot muster courage to do in British India.

We have received a very small pamphlet form Seth Govindlal Shivlal Motilal Pitty of Bombay named "Indian Legislature and the people of Indian States." It is a plea for the Native States being represented on the Indian Legislature. Let us at once admit that it is a very clever piece of advocacy. If a time comes when India can send out Commercial Ambassadors and Seth Govindlal lives to see that time, he will certainly deserve to be selected. We have every sympathy with the subjects of the Native States

and the sympathy is very real not only because we are fellow - Indians or even fellow- sufferers, but also because their disabilities aggravate our disabilities. We are, therefore, in a mood to be convinced by any plea for democratising the Administrations of Native States. If even in this mood we are not convinced by the pleading of Seth Govindlal, we do not know how far he can expect to succeed with those who have an absolutely neutral mind, not to consider those who have an adverse mind.

An indirect payment of taxation can no more entitle a people to representation than the payment of freight entitles importers of British or Continental goods to representation on the Board regulating the Suez Canal. The liberty of movement between Native States and British Indian territory is ample return for all the taxes that are indirectly paid by the people inhabiting them. If this be not sufficient, the permission to subjects of Native States to keep their domicile and also to become voters in British India make up the deficiency. It is not correct in practice to say that the people of Native States are unrepresented on the Indian Legislature. If they do not get any direct benefit, the cause is the impotence of the Indian Legislature and not the lack of representation.

Propinquity of territory or identity of ultimate interest cannot support the claim, because the claim is purely a political one. And even the ultimate interest is one in fancy. The British Indian subjects at least a word solemnly given by the Sovereign Legislature of the Empire that they are bound to bring about a progressive realisation of responsible Government. Have the subjects of the Native States got even an oral promise of this sort ?

It is argued that a beginning must be made somewhere. Unfortunately this is no more a beginning than the tenth rung of a ladder. It is like prescribing and ascent of a hundred yards to an asthmatic patient or an almond pudding to a dyspeptic. Such analogies are never perfect; but they will give an idea of the unsuitability of Seth Govindlal's claim.

There was a horse who was always bent on winning a race. It so happened in a race that he lagged behind other horses; but he was not the horse to lose the race. He thew off the jockey and darted forward to the winpost ahead of every other horse looked triumphantly at the judges much to the merriment of all the visitors including for a moment even those who shaked on him. The instinct displayed in the aforesaid pamphlet is the same as of this horse. The subjects of Native States are taxed in the states without their consent : but they want to be consulted in the taxation levied by the Indian Government ! What part of the total central budget is votable ? The whole of the military budget is votable ? The whole of the military budget is nonvotable; the salaries of all members of the Civil Service, who are recruited by the Secretary of State, are non-votable. The expenditure incurred on the Ecelesiastical Department is nonvotable. We do not exhaust the list of nonvotable items for which a reference may be made to the Government of India Act 1919. All the amount collected from the taxes, the burden to which may be indirectly falling on the subjects of Native States, hardly make up the nonvotable items. The representatives of the British Indian subjects in the Assembly vote amounts which are virtually made up of provincial contributions. Certainly it is preposterous for subjects of Native States to claim the right of representation for interfering with these amounts.

The Indian Legislative does not only levy taxes; it makes laws for the whole of British India; it exercise some sort of control on the Reserved Departments in Provinces. The laws made by this body are not to have any force in the Native States. This body cannot interfere in the administration of States. Where then is the justification for the people of Native States demanding representation on the Indian Legislature ? At the present stage, any representation given to them will only weaken the popular party in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The old order in these States is not as weak as some people may think. Even in British India,

the official and pro-official party affect the elections. In the states they will very substantially control them. The majority of the Members representing subjects of Native States will be frankly progovernment or obscurantist. No real love of democracy in British India can support the claim made by Seth Govindlal. The subject can not be taken up piecemeal. The position of the subjects of Native States vis a vis the Government of India must be considered as a whole.

The Hand of Fellowship

The Melodrama of Delhi has been over. It was called "The Special Khilafat Conference." Nearly three years ago there was a Special session of the Indian National Congress in which Maulana Mohammad Ali became the hero in an underdreamt of manner. He agreed to lay the mine to the great Non-cooperation movement : no wonder be acted in the "Melodrama" so as the make any idea of "Non-cooperation with the Government" impossible for a long time to come. In 1923, he acted on the great principle - "I believe my view is right, that I shall fight for your right to call me wrong." The other day he claimed as a Musalman the right to convert Mahatma Gandhi to Islam, but denied to us even the right to reclaim an original Hindu who was converted to Islam. If he thinks it the greatest compliment to him that we should follow him, well may we pray "May the day come when Maulana Mahomed Ali will accept Vedas at our hands !"

We have recently been hearing a great deal about rivers of blood flowing. We might have coolly treated the cries with absolute unconcern were it not for the proximity in time of the prolonged visit to Maulana Shaukat Ali to Calcutta and the flow of blood in that city. We do not for a moment believe that the Big brother was responsible for it; we are rather willing to believe the opposite viz. that he quietly tried to pour oil on the troubled waters of Mohamedan Calcutta. To his great astonishment he found that there were no waters but that there was only inflammable fuel. Oil

he had unwittingly poured and became sure that combustion was going to be all the more terrific for it. Then he decided not only to face the new element but also to claim the credit of having brought it into manifest existence. He took the first opportunity, therefore, to swear at Sanghathan and to raise such unreal cries as "Islam is being ousted from Calcutta." As if Sir Abdur Rahim would have left such a cry to Maulana Shaukat Ali ! Apparently the Big Brother wanted not only to be at home in the new element but also to lead therein. He had, therefore, to say something more frightening, more provocative than what Sir Abdur Rahim said or even imagined. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad did not raise the cry and has not taken it up even afterwards. Sir Abdur Rahim and other leaders who are wide awake, have not lent the faintest support to this "Alarm" raised by the Big Brother.

Rivers of blood will flow ! yes they will if the Almighty in his merciful providence so ordains ! If he has ordained that this land of many rivers, wherein plenty of water always flows, should also be again and again besmirched with rivers of blood, who can frustrate His Ordinance ? If it is His will that either Hindus and Musalmans should cause death other's blood to flow or that a third party should cause the blood of both to flow, what power on earth can prevent His doing?

It is too late in the day now to hope to frighten Hindus by cries of "rivers of blood." Maulana Shaukat Ali must indeed embrace the Sanghatanists out of sheer gratitude for having brought about this progress. He said death was a calamity to Kaffirs but it meant nothing to Musalmans. If that is the test, according to Maulana's own testimony, the Hindu leaders of Sanghathan movement have converted Kaffirs into Musalmans. Rivers of blood cannot flow unless the erstwhile Kaffirs, to whom death was a calamity, have ceased to care for death. We shall not deny the Big Brother the pleasure of describing as Musalmans those whom the Sanghatnists have prepared no longer to look upon death

as a calamity. We shall invite him to hug to his bosom the Sanghatanists themselves as his proselytising agents, and even as saviours of his community. "The Community which" said Maulana Shaukat Ali "tried to find an easy prey had nothing but destruction to gain at the hand of God." The Musalmans have been finding Hindus as easy prey 1200 years (pace Maulana Abdul Rahman of Ludhiana), and God must be ready with destruction in his Hands for them. Sanghatanists are trying to avert that doom by making Hindus a difficult prey or if possible no prey. Do they deserve to have fire spit upon them by the Maulana Sahab ?

"A grave fight! Terrible bloodshed !" There is not even the saving grace of bravery in these cries. Rivers of blood will flow, a grave fight will occur, terrible bloodshed will result not according to the sweet will of either Hindus or Mohamedans. If even the will of the latter were supreme, there might be some ground for glee. In point of fact, however, even in that respect our sphere is limited by the third party possessed of guns and aeroplanes. Brickbats and daggers ! Hindus intend using their bricks only for building houses. If Hindus hold daggers in their hands, they are not for inviting other daggers but rather to request them to keep away. The moment brickbats and daggers are used for the purpose envisaged by Maulana Nadvi, the party with guns and aeroplanes, will seize them. Look at Calcutta. Even walking sticks are being taken away by the Police. What use have the Government of Bengal made of the terrible bloodshed of Calcutta ? On May 17th, the Bengal Council will be asked to pass a Bill which will give the most arbitrary powers to the Police Commissioner and the Collector. Is that a gain to the Mohamedans ? The Government have dared to bring this dastardly Bill at this moment of excitement because they think it will be carried; even if it will not be carried, the Government will be able to have it certified on the ground of the Governor's responsibility to maintain "order." Has the third party not already indicated and proved that it can dictate the limits within which the

terrible bloodshed must be restricted ? Lord Lytton gave sanction to the Sikh procession to pass with music. That sanction was virtually a challenge to the Musalmans, in the face of which the roaring lions did not even bleat in protest. What is the worth of these vociferation and threats ? Let the Khilafatists ponder.

It is no good merely to swear at Shuddhi or Sanghthan. Sanghthan is an absolutely inoffensive movement. If there were any doubt on the point, it was set at rest by the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha who met on 10th instant and passed the following Resolution :-

"The Working Committee .... invites the attention of all concerned to the fact that the objects of the Sanghthan movement are to protect the rights and interests of the Hindus where they are unjustly assailed, and to eradicate social evils and to promote Social reform in the Hindu Society and, last but not the least, to cultivate better relations between the various communities inhabiting this country."

If a "clean hand of fellowship" has been extended by the Khilafarts, it has been clasped as such by the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu Mahasabha wishes to live and let live. It is now for the Khilafatists to strengthen the fellowship of the clean hand and to tighten the clasping.

Nagar-Kirtan procession of the Aryasamaj

The ban on the Nagar-Kirtan procession of the Arya Samajs is a new departure since the last year. It began at Mussourie and after travelling through many places in U.P. and the Panjab it has culminated at Amritsar where in spite of the Arya Samaj agreeing to take the procession round between 8A.M. and 12A.M., when there is no Nimaz time of the Musalmans, the Police insisted on reserving to itself the power of stopping it wherever they thought proper. This indignity was hard to bear and the Amritsar Arya Samaj acted rightly in abandoning the procession altogether. The Hindu processions are also being dealt with in the same

manner, in order to placate the Muhammadans. It is for the British Government to consider where this might lead them to, in the eyes of their Muslim favourites. But feeling among the Arya Samajists is rising against this tampering with the first rights of citizenship and I am daily receiving protests by scores against this Muslim - Namaz policy of the Government. The Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (All India Aryan League) will be moved at the end of 3rd week of May to decide about the future steps to be taken. I hope the Sabha will exhaust all other means before taking the final step towards direct action; but if (God forbid) the step shall have to be taken, I hope the Arya Samajists will give a good account of themselves.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Editorial Observations

Not Cricket

We wish to bring it to the notice of Baron Irwin that the Bill which the Bengal government are going to place before the Bengal Council on 17th May is "Not Cricket." When Lord Lytton was asked to convoke a Special Session of the Bengal Legislative Council to consider the communal question, His Excellency refused the request as inopportune. What has happened since then to make the meeting of 17th May opportune ? While we were yearning for a measure that would bring about better relations between the warring communities and would minimise the chances of the recurrence of the gruesome tragedies of the last month, we have been surprised with a demand for additional arbitrary powers to the executive. Hindus and Musalmans are divided and may not be able to defeat this fresh invasion at this moment. But it does not reflect any cried on the Government to exploit our differences and consequent weakness. To plunder, while the houseowners are busy extinguishing fire, may be clever; but it is not manly; it is not cricket.

Pacts.

Pacts are generally the outcome of lack of statesmanship or lack of courage or lack of straightforwardness. When through one of these reasons trouble arises, those at the top want to find out some means of staving it. When an impose occurs the easiest via media sought is a pact amongst those whose tongues are longest and who can create troubles. Occasionally pacts are made with an ulterior motive. All such pacts are quite transitory and bear the germ of fresh troubles. We have endless conferences which either take us to an abyss or to a blind alley. All the troubles, that have been temporarily cast aside, gather with vengeance with the result that we get disintegration, dissolution and chaos. And if these do not necessarily lead us to ruin, we have to be grateful to the resilient stamina of the downtrodden and a merciful Providence.

The Lucknow Pact

What has been the outcome of the much boomed Lucknow Pact, the acme of statesmanship as it was dubbed at Lucknow ? The party, who was the principal gainer, stands today committed to a policy of revising it in their favour. The principle of Communal Representation gained an imprimatur making it absolutely unnecessary for leaders of one Community to cherish the good will of another and giving rise to demands of separate representation in several compartments.

The Calcutta Pact

The growing demand was sought to be placated at Calcutta by the late Deshbandhu Das by means of yet another pact restricted to the Bengal Province. The Pact was not accepted by the Indian National Congress. and the rejection of the pact was made a cassus belli by disgruntled leaders of the Moslem Community who became daily more powerful until at last they succeeded in converting Calcutta into a cauldron of human sacrifice. From the Old Imperial capital the cauldron is sought to be transported to the New Capital

by the leaders of the great Khilafat movement which was once looked upon as the most solemn pact between Hindus and Mohamedans.

The Sabarmati Pact

The latest is the Sabarmati Pact which crumbled more quickly than the proverbial house of cards. Apparently the pact was of questionable birth ! Although its birth was certified by a witness, neither party would accept it as it was. One party said I promised to accept it because I thought it was a girl. The other party said I promised to accept it because I thought it was a boy. Neither party wanted to take it unless both parties were prepared to share the burden of carrying it. The two parties managed to create a difference which could neither be settled by the subtlest juggler nor be explained away by the Sovereign of facile expression. Taking advantage of that, difference, both parties disappeared and the child of questionable birth was abandoned.

Shady Business

The whole business surrounding this "pact" can be discerned to have been shady. Here is one of the Signatories to the pact - and probably the most important signatory - disclaiming any part in the framing of the "pact" at the first available moment and at the same time maintaining that the "pact" did not deviate a hair's breadth from the Cawnpore Resolution. How is a mere witness able or competent to say so ? Is this the sense of responsibility of the President of the last session of the Indian National Congress and exofficio head of the executive for this year ? Ask the Liberals, the Independents, Conventionalists and other non-congressmen who attended the Ahmedabad sitting of the A.I.C.C. at Mrs. Naidu's invitation, whether they would have accepted the invitation so readily if they had looked upon Mrs. Naidu only as a witness and not a party to the "pact". Where are ask in all solemnity was the necessity

of a witness to such a pact ? The signatories were not going to deny their signatures. And if at all a witness were necessary, the gentleman, under whose aegis the pact conference was held, were the fittest witness. Mrs. Naidu was to preside over the meeting of the A.I.C.C. called for ratifying the pact. Unless she was identifying herself with the pact, why did she forget her position during 1926 so far as to sign such a momentous document as a mere witness?

Esoteric doctrine

That the pact was not all an overboard business has now been made clear. An amazed world was yearning to lear what arrangement the "nine" had made to settle any difference of opinion that would arise between the two Assessors with such different mentality as are Mr. Jayakar and Pandit Motilal Nehru. Now we learn that an arrangement was made but was kept "esoteric." Why? Was such an arrangement abnormal or dishonorable ? And of all persons, if Mahatma Gandhi was apointed as the supreme arbiter, what could be gained by keeping the appointment "esoteric"?

Secret conditions

This was not the only item marked 'esoteric.' Pandit Motilal Nehru now tells us that his draft did contain the definition of the character of the response which would be acceptable as such from the Government and that the definition did not find a place in the "pact" because it was agreed that the draft was not to be burdened with matters on which there was no disagreement. The conditions were "to be sent to the provinces as secret conditions of testing the response." That Pandit Motilal is not quite and as bad as his "Responsive" opponents - who, by the bye, do not care a whit for response - now depict him, is proved by the reassertion by the only witness viz. Mrs. Naidu of her conviction that the "pact" did not deviate by a hair's breadth from the Cawnpore Resolution. Was this matter one that deserved to be hatched in dark ? But these politicians have

a penchant for keeping something secret; in their own eyes they would not be justifying their title unless they had something up their sleeves !

The Wounded Martyrs

The noncongressmen who went to Sabarmati have been able to pose as wounded martyrs ! What had they to do with the pact? They were not parties to it. But it appeared as if they were "more Royalist than Charles II." If they came all the way for finding out a door through which to enter the Indian National Congress, why should they have made this pact a point of honour ? Apparently they did not want to stop with the ratification of this pact. They came ostensibly with the object of having much more or much else and were in fact, going to ask for a special session of the Congress. What right had they to complain against the pact being dropped ? We do not with to suggest. In Bombay several parties met to from an "Indian National Party." There were very substantial differences amongst them. But the spirit of unity was there. Virtually the only point on which Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Malaviya agreed was the sentiment that having come together they should not part without finding a common platform. Were these non-congressmen inspired by any such keen desire to find out a common platform at Ahmedabad ?

Flying Colours

The indications are all to the contrary. All arrived to drive a bargain. They came with the one object of demolishing the "No-office" party. If that object could not be achieved, they were only anxious to disperse with the most innocent colours. Either they wanted to leave with flying colours or with innocent colours and, preferably, with the colours of wounded martyrs. The moment they saw they could go out with such colours, they made every decent haste to disperse. Were they fired by a real enthusiasm for a united platform, they would have sat there and tried

to arrive at a new understanding independently of the pact to which they were not party. The whole business was shoddy and it is best that it has been thrown overboard.

Not the last word

Sabarmati need not be the last word. We appeal to Gandhiji. We have reason to believe that he did not insist on the "Spinners" Association" being an integral part of the Indian National Congress. We ask him to come forward and make the sacrifice involved in the repeal of the socalled Khaddar restriction. We can assure him his appeal for Khaddar will be all the more triumphant for this sacrifice. Let him make this sacrifice and call all parties to the Congress and there will not be a single party worth the name that will remain outside. Oh ! for the attempt being made by Gandhiji !

Our Brothers

In his presidential address at the first Conference of Non-Brahmins of the Bombay Presidency, Mr. Doonger Singh Patil said with reference to the Depressed Classes :-

"They are our brothers and without the help and co-operation of the Depressed Classes, we cannot secure the welfare of India."

A Letter from Bengal

We share the following letter with our readers. Faith in the righteousness of Hindu Sanghthan is the only cure of fear and helplessness. Heaven helps them who help themselves. We wish the workers ever success and party that God may give them the necessary Faith.

Editor, the Liberator.

Revered Swamiji Namaste !

Our love and devotion to your Holiness. Thakur Khan Chand Verma Presiding one Hindu Sabha has been started here on the 18th March 1926. His speeches and actions have created an atmosphere of good feeling and mutual co-operation amongst the Hindus. At a general annual meeting

of the existing Hindu Sava, one Working Committee has also been formed and we are trying our level best to give a shape to the Sanghthan. But the task is very difficult here to carry on Sanghthan, the Hindus being in a small minority numbering only 25 per cent of the total population of 8 lacs and 26 thousand in this sub-division under Pabna District. Out of 2500 villages there are only 150 Hindu villages. From this you can easily understand our position here. The people in general are very much afraid of any sort of Hindu activities like Sanghthan and Shudhi. Up to this time we have enlisted about two hundred members under the local Hindu Sabha. Two Branch Sabhas have also been formed. Some others are' also in progress.

On the 21st March 1926 some influential members of the local Sava attended one meeting at Bara Pangashi. In the meeting the Malis, the Patnis, the dodly Bearers and Badyakers have been allowed Barbers - the local Brahmins, Kayasthas and others consenting unanimously. The Barbers of the place refused the shave the depressed classes. So Barbers form the town have been supplied to the Hindu population of the said place and other neighbouring villages.

One widowmarriage amongst the fisherman caste has been celebrated at Gayhata. Some 50 Pradhans of the said caste of different villages attended the ceremony and they are trying to introduce the widow - marriage in general amongst them. The Namasudras are also trying to introduce widow-marriage amongst them.

One subject. I wish to draw your special attention that in this subdivision some Muhammedans numbering over one thousand have adopted Hindu custom - they perform Hari Kirtan under the influence of one Hindu Mendicant. For this those persons are to face many troubles from their neighbouring opponents. They are poor persons but very hardy. They require encouragement and pecuniary help - which will embolden them to meet face to face any attempt of rowdism from their opponents and in their turn they may bring many others of like nature of their folds.

We are also trying to remove untouchability by taking water from the hands of any person of Hindu caste. Many

of us are already taking water wide open but are outcasted.

Our prayer to you - encourage us and give us Sakti to withstand man to man.

We remain, Sir,

Yours truly

The Members, Hindu Sava,

Sirajgunj. Bhabani Charan Chanda, Secretary.

The Training of Youth

The Volunteer edited by Dr. Hardikar has published in its May number a message by Miss Miriam Keeler, Secretary New England Fellowship of Youth for peace, Boston U.S.A. to the "Volunteers of India, " of which we reproduce the concluding portion:-

"What form, then, shall the training of Youth take ? There are two forms which supplement each other, both of which are more suitable to your purpose and ours. The first is physical education - the systematic training of the body to physical efficiency and co-ordination by scientific exercises which develop all the muscles and promote the health of the organs, together with instruction in sanitation and hygiene, healthful habits of daily life.

The second form is athletic sports. These fall into two classes, the first including those sports in which individual superiority alone counts, such as running, jumping, swimming - and in which I note the youth of India are already doing much, to judge by the account of the swimming races. The other class includes all games requiring team-work-base ball, football, basket ball, field hockey, tennis. With the possible exception of football, which is brutal, these are invaluable. To begin with, they are great fun. Boys, and girls, too, need no urging to spend all their spare time at these games, and at the same time keep to the strictest sort of regime in regard to food and sleep in order to increase their efficiency. In some American colleges, captains of the athletic teams are not the most honoured men in colleges. These sports also develop exactly the qualities we need. Team-

work is another name for co-operation. Each man learns his place, and advances, not his own interests, but those of this team. An instant response to others, complete subordination of self, as well as physical skill, are needed for success. Obedience is there, too-but not to arbitrary commands; it is obedience to the rules of the game, in some cases interpreted through a leader. Honour is one of the requirements of sports. No good team would win a game by cheating or under false pretences. And the other team is simply the opposition, not the enemy. The team plays to win; but if it loses it cheers the other team any-how. Without overdeveloping and professionalizing sports as some American Universities have done, the youth of India can well use them for their own purposes.

You will doubtless find other methods in addition, of training along the right lines. But let us not be led astray by the superficial precision of military unit. The world is looking to India to organize for peace, not war. And when you have accomplished this great thing, there will be many to follow.

National Education

It will be heard in the Aryasamaj circle, particularly, and among those interested in the problem of National Education, generally, that next year the Gurukula Kangri (Dsitrict Bijnor., U.P.) will have completed its brilliant course of twenty -five years. It was proposed by the old graduates of the Gurukula to celebrate the occasion on a grand scale and it will be heard with great acclamation all around that the suggestion has met with a ready response from the authorities in charge of the Gurukula. Next year, then, will witness the Gurukula Silver Jubilee celebrations which, it is hoped, shall again attract millions of anxious pilgrims from all over India to the sacred bank of the Ganges, just as the Shatabdi celebrations at the banks of the Jamna did.

Judging from the short time at our disposal and the heavy task that awaits us, gigantic efforts will have to be

made to make the occasion an unprecedented success that it deserves. Letters have begun pouring in from all quarters making enquiries as to what programme has been laid out for the Jubilee celebrations and also regarding other matters in connection with the occasion. Such friends are informed that it is proposed to form a Committee for the purpose by the end of May, after the annual sittings of the Pratinidhi Sabha Punjab, and then it will be possible to lay out some definite programme before the general public. Meanwhile, a temporary office has been opened at the Gurukula to look after the correspondence connected with the Jubilee and the public are requested to submit their suggestions they intend to give in the matter as early as possible.

Satyavrata Siddhantalankar.

[The Liberators, 13 May, 1926]

PEOPLE CALM UNDER EXTREME PROVOCATION

I asked the huge audience to follow me and to leave quietly when nearing their residences. We were walking in order. When we were nearing to Clock-Tower, Goorkhas were in the middle of the road in double file facing both ways. On seeing us they marched to the right foot-board. We thought they had left the road in order to enable us to proceed but when we reached near them, a rifle into the crowd. There was a stir and a deep tone of resentment among the crowd. But I asked all to halt and they obeyed. In my Sanyasi-dress I went up to the foot-path alone and asked the Goorkhas why they were firing on innocent peaceful people. Two rifles were immediately pointed at me and they began saying in a very insolent tone "tum ko ched denge" (We will pierce you). I stood quietly before them and said "Main khara hun, golimaro" (I am standing, fire). At once eight or ten more rifles were aimed at my breast and insolent threats went on.

The crowd could certain itself no longer and was about to rush, when a wave of my hand and a short appeal to their Vow stopped them. But they were saying "let us die and not you, let us die." The rifles had remained pointed at my breast for some three minutes when a European on horseback approached and asked the only policemen present whether he had ordered the firing. I stopped forward and asked the European officer whether he had heard the rifle fire. He impatiently answered that he was enquiring about

it. I found afterwards that the officer was Mr. P.L. Orde of the C.I.D. Police.

I left with the people. A Goorkha came near me brandishing his Khukri right and left. He was literally laughed out and left crestfallen. An armoured car was rattling away encircling us with the gun constantly pointed at us, but nobody was either crowd down or impatient. The crowd left for their several homes after taking affectionate leave of me.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Pan-Hindu Week in Ratnagiri

To emphasise the fact that the question of the removal of untouchability is, so far as public life is concerned, satisfactorily solved, the Hindu Sabha organises from time to time Pan-Hindu Weeks in Ratnagiri (Bombal Presidency). There the very word असपृश्य i.e. untouchables is dropped and the Mahars and Mangs and other socalled untouchables are referred to as पूर्वास्पृश्य i.e. those who were formerly untouchables but no longer continue to be so. In the last week a crowded meeting took place in the foremost temple of the town. A mixed singing party composed to Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Chamars, Mahars etc. sang together the Unity Hymn "Hindus we all, brothers we all." This Pan-Hindu Party stood at the very steps of the inner apartment of the temple. The late untouchables and other castes all sat or stood mixed and had Darshan. Sjt Vinayak Damodar Savarkar delivered a speech on Hindu Sanghthan to listen to which students from all parts of the District came in their hundreds. On the second day a Pan-Hindu Ladies' gathering took place on account of the Gauri festival. Here the hitherto untouchable women were allowed to attend and take part in the Kunkum ceremony. Girls belonging to Brahman and high caste Kshatriya families enthusiastically distributed the prasad to the Chamar and other women and applied the Kunkum to their foreheads with their own hands. On the third day a meeting was held in the quarters

of the socalled untouchable classes which was attended by prominent Hindus of all classes. After Bhajan and Sjt Savarkar's lecture the meeting closed in loud cheers "Hindu Dharma-ki Jay." The quarters of the Depressed Classes are exceptionally clean, with the Tulsi planted in front of every house. The water supply is often tasted and examined by the leaders of the Hindu Sabha. Their children are educated and books on heroic and other topics from Ramayan et. are distributed free to them. The rights for which the socalled untouchables are so doggedly fighting in Malbar are freely conceded to them out of a sense of duty by the people here and for all public purposes the Asprishyas have been transformed into Purvasprishyas in Ratanagiri.

Temperance amongst the untouchables

Vigorous temperance work is begun by Sjt. T.K. Madhavan, who is also known as the "Travancore Pussyfoot." Now it is the time for the auction sale of the Vende right of liquor shops in Travancore for the coming two years. Mr. T. K. Madhavan and party, which consists of Swamy Sathya Vrathan and A. Bahuleyan, is visiting every Taluk and delivering lectures on Prohibition.

Shri Jummadada Vyayammandir

Shri Jummadada Vyaymmandir of Baroda has the unique distinction of being an emporium for the supply of good practical physical trainers. When I paid my first visit to the institution it was in its initial stage and was located in a rented building. Even then it struck me as a means of strengthening the muscles of the listless meek Hindu, but when Professor Manikrao took me to the institution's own mandir in 1924, I was struck with the good work that was being done. Even as early as 1916, I had sent two of my own disciples to be trained there. I am frequently asked by promoters of national and seminational institutions to recommend to them drillmasters and physical trainers for the your. I cannot do better then advise them to write

direct to Professor Manikrao, who will not only supply an efficient physical trainer but will, at the same time, send to them his own special course of Gymnastics. I wished there were several institutions for physical training in all parts of India like the one at Baroda.

Shraddhanand Sanyasi.

Working Committee Resolutions

Besides the Resolution on Sanghathan, the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha passed on 11th may the following Resolutions :-

1. The Working Committee has noted with regret that several Musalman leaders have been exciting Musalmans' feelings against the movement of Shudhi by misrepresentation and baseless insinuation. The Working Committee trusts that every Musalman, who recognise that the spread of Communal misunderstanding is injurious to the interests of both the communities, will counteract this mischief by pointing out to his co-religionists that Hindus are entitled to convert or reconvert anyone to their own faith quite as much as Christians or Musalmans are.

2 The Working Committee draws the attention of every Hindu to the urgent need of organisation Hindu Sabhas where they do not exist and strengthening them where they do and calls upon every Hindu who loves his country and the culture of his race to make a regular contribution of at least one per cent of his income to the funds of the Local and Central Hindu Sabhas combined and do all that may lie in his power to carry out the resolutions of the Mahasabha.

Comments on the Speech of Mr. Raja

"One thing emerges out of all these discussion and it is that the Hindu Leaders must lose not time or must spare no effort to do away with untouchability themselves." - The Mahratta. "We acknowledge their grievances some of which are very inhuman and cruel. Mr. Raja would depend on

the foreign missionary and government for uplift and not on his countrymen. So be it. Confidence has to be won, not claimed, by the caste Hindus by their unremitting work for the betterment to the Depressed Classes .... we share Mr. Raja's impatience for progress .... The Depressed Classes must be told and taught to assert themselves." The Sevant of India.

NAIVETE

Dr. Kitchlew has given out the whole case of Musalmans against the Hindus of Punjab. A Moplah Leader of Malabar wondered the other day why Hindus and Moslems of the North, who were divided by the Malabar troubles, kept on fighting with each other when those of Malabar itself had altogether got over the effects of those troubles. Let him read Dr. Kitchlew's interview with a representative of the Bangalee published in that journal on 14th May. The whole case is given there with the naivete of a child. He has condemned Sir Abdur Rahim's speech for being frank and unfortunate. Dr. Kitchlew has, perhaps, gone one better. That interview with the telegram he sent to Maulana Shaukat Ali speaks the whole truth. The perspective of the Speeches of all Khilafat leaders, the Calcutta riots and the daily recurring desecrations of temple in the Presidency of Bengal complete the picture. Like the Moplah leader of the South, the Nawab of Murshidabad in the East is attempting to bring about better understanding between Hindus and Musalmans of Bengal, who have for centuries lived as friendly coworkers. Embarrassed at the prospect of peace in Bengal, Dr. Kitchlew flashed out the message that the Calcutta situation was far reaching and that an all-party meeting of Mohamedans must be held to consider it and to find out a solution. He indeed wants to defeat the attempts begin sincerely made in Bengal to stop the communal troubles.

The learned doctor is admirable. He admits that "Bengali Hindu and Bengali Musalmans will soon make friends and live in peace and amity" andadds "I am not

sure of the upcountry Hindus." The trained and practised lawyer that he is, he simply overlooks the chance of Hindus saying "we are not sure of the upcountry Mohamedans." And there is far greater immediate evidence of the latter than of the Doctor's proposition. The hatred of Aryasamaj has been exported to Bengal by the upcountry Musalmans. The desire to segregate Musalmans into an unknowing community and separating them from Hindu Bengalees by this segregation is a product of Punjab. The politician condemns with all his might the communal electorates. He is blind to the subtler and more permanent separation that is attempted through this segregation of languages. This segregation is moving southwards, is moving subtly, is moving unobserved. The politician will see it only when there is a volcanic eruption. The speech of Sir Abdur Rahim at Aligarh of which so much is made is insignificant in comparison to his attempts to introduce Urdu to Bengalee Musalmans so as to segregate them from Hindus linguistically. These tendencies are purely of Punjab manufactures. And these are purely of Punjab manufacture. And these are responsible for the explosions that are occurring in Bengal and will be solely responsible if they continue..

Dr. Kitchlew is admirable. He says "Tanzim is a social movement meant to uplift the Mahomedan community which is backward in almost every avenue of life." Is it not admirable that he will not read the same sentence with the word "Sanghathan" instead of "Tanzim" "Hindu" instead of "Mohamedan" and "disorganised" instead of "backward"? He has even got to admit that his programme is on the face of it open to suspicion and in comparison to it, the programme of the Hindumahasabha is innocent. This fact does not bewilder him at all and he asserts "The spirit underlying the programme is bad. They want to organise the Hindus not so much for the furtherance of their own object as to humiliate the Moselms. " We almost hear by wireless the voice of Sir Michel O'dwyer saying "Indian leaders want Swaraj not so much for the furtherance of

their own object as to humiliate the British Soldiers and to starve twelve hundred British Members of the I.C.S." What answer can one give to conceptions and expressions of this kind? The only answer is to go on with the work of improving the condition of and consolidating the divided Hindu Community.

The whole Muslim case is summed up by Doctor Kitchlew in two sentences "Unless some thing is done immediately, we may have the painful sight of having this communal riot in every cottage. Because for the first time, the Mohamedans feel that they have been worsted in the fight." That is the whole crux. That is the meaning of Maulana Shaukat Ali's cry "Islam is being ousted from Bengal." That is the meaning of Maulvie Mahomed Shafee's demand that Sanghathan activities will stop. That is the meaning of Maulana Mahomed Ali's resentment against Gandhi's Statement "A Musalman is a bully and a Hindu is a coward." What right has this coward to turn into an erect man ? His business is to remain a slave. He must always allow himself to be defeated and then sue for peace. If he tries to change that attitude of his, Maulana Mahomed Ali must raise an Army of 10000 Volunteers who will be willing to die at his word. With such an army in the fields, Hindus will be at once subjugated and then the Khilafat leaders will grant them generous terms of peace ! If the mere enlistment of these 10 thousand will not bring about the necessary chastening "rivers of blood will flow."

Here comes the Upper India Hindu ! He infused in the slavery loving, defeatloving Hindu the spirit of resistance. It is a French saying "This animal is vicious : he resists !". Who made this dumb Hindu vicious ? The upcountry Hindu, particularly the virile Aryasamajists and most particularly this Shraddhanand who was awarded a special reference by the President of the Special Session of the Khilafat Conference in the words "we need a Shraddhanand who can devote all his time to Tabligh."

We are obliged to Dr. Kitchlew for demonstrating to

us where we are. Nothing is worse than dissimulation. We welcome this exposition as we welcome pus which brings to light a serious ailment which was hidden from sight but was all the while eating into the body. Nourishment of the body and treatment of the disease are now our duties as Hindus as well as Indians. We have to be doubly industrious because we have only one country to serve.

Editorial Observations

Berar

Marquis of Reading, as he has now become, has left a clean table for his successor in connection with Berar. We have no desire to convict the Marrquis of any attempt to commit justice or to advance democracy in arriving at the decision not to retrocede Berar to the Nizam. We start with the one face that Berar is and will be ruled by the British Government. We, therefore, ask Baron Irwin to perform a piece of justice. Hitherto Bearar has been treated as a nonregulation District. Members are elected by the voters of Berar even as they are in the Central Provinces. But while the latter become is to fact entitled to go to the Legislative Council the former have to be nominated albeit formally - before they can go to the council. The Central Provinces Council passes laws; but before the courts of Berar can enforce them a notification is necessary making them applicable to Berar. This is anomalous. Whatever justification there was for such an anomaly and anachronism in the past, the recent decision of Marquis of Reading leaves not a shadow of it now. It is necessary to take early steps to put Berar on a proper and regular basis either as an integral part of the C.P. or as a sub-Province with a Deputy-Governor. If the competent authority to take such action is the British Parliament, let that Body be moved at an early date. If an order-in- Council is all that is required, Baron Irwin can get it for the asking form Mr. Baldwin's Government. We hope His Excellency will take the necessary action with due promptness.

His Majesty

Indians have been taught to regard the King of England as a mere figurehead. Those who will care to go deep into the history of the last fifteen years will find how far this teaching is correct. The social influence of the King of England and specially of King George V is considerable; in many a crisis His Majesty's attitude has been the determining factor. He is handicapped by the introduction of the political factor which the party politicians never fail to introduce into every important matter. When the Conservative ministry of to-day found that they could not fight Labour except on the pretext of a political danger, they so manoeuvred things that they could give to the recent General strike of England a political appearance.; His Majesty understood the thing and was taking an active interest in the master. If there was any doubt about the matter, the detail published by Mr. Baldwin's cabinet sets every doubt at rest. The similarity of wording in His Majesty's message to His people, Lord Oxford's statement in the Commons can indicate who has been the greatest peacemaking force in the grim conflict.

Legal Maxims

Once an advocate always an advocate. Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jayakar may be determining the destinies of two great political parties : but they fling legal maxims at each other. The habit of forensic duelling is ineradicable. They will manage to forget that in national affairs, the sphere or the arena of activities is not so restricted and so defined as in a court of law. Justifying his action in connection with the notorious Sabarmati pact, the advocate of Allahabad flings the javelin : "An agreement to be agreement must be agreement to the same thing in the same sense." The advocate of Bombay flings in answer another javelin. "When language used in a document is plain in itself and applied correctly to the existing facts, it is not possible to avoid the document on the ground of different intention from what the words convey." To the lay mind both are maxims

: The two are not of equal status and cannot neutralise each other. Besides, the maxim on which Panditji relies is originally a moral maxim and is taken over by law : while the one on which Mr. Jaryakar relies is only a technical one created by judges to facilitate their work. Mr. Jayakar's maxim can be neutralised by the legal provision that when property can be transferred, only by a conveyance duly executed and registered, the mere draft of the conveyance, even though signed by parties, cannot by itself be effective and in a suit for compelling registration, it is open to the defendant to say that the draft does not state what both parties agreed to. Mr. Jayakar's purely technical maxim being thus neutralised, there is Pandit Nehru's maxim in sole possession of the field, which is further fortified by its being a moral provision incorporated in law.

Levelling Up

The responsive cooperation party can claim to have levelled up the other cooperation parties who were hitherto outside the Congress. They have now accepted "Swaraj" as their goal and "peaceful and legitimate " means to achieve it. They have definitely weapon - the distinction between individual and group C.D. as against Mass civil Disobedience is a matter of degree. It is quite desirable that the Receptionists should be with people who require to be and can be levelled up rather than with others whom they can only level down. They are now with people who emphasise the substantive in the phrase "Responsive Cooperation" and have, as they ought to have, left those others who emphasise the adjective in that phrase. Lokmanya created that phrase in answer to His Majesty's proclamation asking for cooperation. When His Majesty, whom we have always looked upon to be above parties and whom Lokamanya gave his allegiance again and again, asked for cooperation, Lokamanya threw his lot at Amritsar with Das and Satyamurti who stood for virtual rejection of the Reforms and insisted on condemning he reforms as "disappointing" as against

Messrs. Jinnah and Malaviya. When a party, in 1926, declares that to be a sufficient response which was disappointing in 1919, it is but proper that the party should ally itself with those who share that opinion rather than with those others who insist on a more adequate response, because the Act of 1919 is, in their view, inadequate and disappointing.

Esoteric

We are delighted to find our view about the main factor in the crumbling of the socalled pact of Sabarmati supported in so many words by the Organ of one of the signatories of the pact. We cannot do better than bodily to incoporate the following words. After pointing out that the pact did not suffer only form defective draftsmanship but from "More fundamental defects, for the statements issued by responsible Swarajists leaders immediately on the publication of the signed pace clearly show that none of these gentlemen had been previously taken into confidence as to what was going on, " our contemporary observes :

"This aspect of the question deserves serious consideration as the Sabarmati fiasco is no solitary instance of such defective methods of work. For some time pase we have been relying more and more on merely recording and accepting decisions taken in that fashion and less and less on mutual consultation. Sabarmati has only brought that defect on the surface and into prominence.

"We repeat emphatically that it was this factor of "no previous consultation" more than any other single factor that made the Sabarmati talks a fiasco and whilst the controversies trying to allocate blame on individuals may be largely futile, this lesson must not be lost after the cost that we have paid to learn it."

These remarks in the "people" dated 16th May with the following remark written by Lala Lajpat Rai himself on Board S.S. Ranpura and another by Sjt Aurobindo Ghosh make our complete case. Says Lala Lajpat Rai :-

"Nations are make or unmade not so much by politicians

or statesmen as by prophets and unconscious psychologists."

Says Sjt Aurobindo Ghosh :

"What he (the politician) does actually represent in all the average pettiness, selfishness, egoism, selfdeception that is about him and these he represents well enough as well as great deal of mental incompetence and moral conventionality, timidity and pretence."

We find support for our view from far off South. In the "Justice" of 14th May, the aftermath of Sabarmati is described as the result which "is bound to follow in the wake of political activities based on cliquism and custom." We would add 'bossdom'. These three constitute the very negation of democracy.

The Result of Brahmin Oppression

Swami Ramanand, Secretary of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi has sent the following for publication :-

For the last two years the Brahmin Zemindars of Dighee village in Bulandshahr district were oppressing the Jatavs. From time to time efforts were made to compose their differences and to conciliate them without any success. Nearby the place is Pahasu, the residence of a Nawab with a Muslim Sub-inspector in charge of the place. Taking advantage of the differences, the Nawab allured them with the prospects of relationship and also the sub-inspector used him influence. Sixteen of the Jatavs became converts to Islam on the 2nd May, in Nawab's mosque, and for the conversion of the remaining families about eighty in number, the 11th was fixed. All this was done so secretly that even the Sabha's workers, who were them in the village, did not get the scent of the happening till they heard of the actual conversion ceremony going on at Pahasu. On receipt of news at the District office and at the Headquarters here, immediate action was taken. Swami Ramanand with all the workers available and with some respectable citizens of Khurja reached there and organised a big panchayat of all the local zamindars with the Jatavs on the 7th May. The position having been

made clear, conciliation was effected and all the 16Jatavs were reclaimed. Precautionary measures have been taken and the situation is being carefully watched.

The Nobler of the two

"Woman is not the weaker sex, but the better half of humanity, the nobler of the two. She is the embodiment of sacrifice, silent suffering humility, faith and knowledge." - M.K. Gandhi.

An Ezava Obstructed

A Brahmin, who obstructed an Ezava Arya Samajists passing along the Agraharma, was sentenced by the Sub-Magistrate of Palghat to pay a fine of Rs. 30/- or in default, to simple imprisonment for a week. He was further bound over to keep the peace in two sureties of Rs. 100/- each.

Depressed Classes in Bhavnagar State

Mr. A.V. Thakkar, President of the Second Session of Bhavnagar State Subjects' Conference, said :-

"The progress of any part of India is the progress of the Untouchables in that part. Tested this way, Bhavnagar cannot claim to be in advance of other States, nor can the people of this State put forward such a claim. So long as the condition of this class does not improve, I can have neither joy nor peace.

"Let us enquire into the education of the Depressed. The State Report shows that in the whole State there are only three Depressed Class schools were originally founded by a particular class of subjects. This number is miserably poor for a State composed of 666 villages with a population of four lakhs and a quarter. And even this generosity began as late as five or six years ago. In my opinion the State must be ready to give aid or to open schools in every single village or every combination of villages which will send fifteen pupils for instruction. The State ought besides to open boarding schools at two or three stations at state

expense. It is neither known nor heard that the Education Department has made any efforts in this direction.

"From another point of view, the condition of the Untouchables is equally pitiable. They have to take the lead in doing forced labour. They have to take the lead from the other end in getting medical relief at State dispensaries. Their cries for drinking water are simply heartrending. Their residences are far from the villages and are undefended and uncared for. Twentyfive or twenty seven years ago, the Dhedvada was shifted two miles away from a city like Bhavnagar for purely fanciful reasons ! During these years the prayers of these luckless creatures for a location nearer the city have been reaching the ears of the powers that be, but have not touched their heart. It is even heard that one of the members of the State Council- as if to demonstrate his obdurary -thought fit to express : "This Dhedwada will not be brought an inch nearer to the city." In other towns and villages also it has become a pastime to remove the Dhedwada to a distance on the pretext of securing some amenity. Even in the age of democracy and social reform the attitude of the society towards these submerged classes appears so little changed that these very Conferences and Congress, which are held for demanding rights and ventilating grievances, are averse to listen to their grievances or to concede such of their rights as the society (i.e. higher classes) have in their power."

Rights of the Depressed classes

Extracts from the presidential address of Mr. Raja M.L.C., delivered at Nagpur :-

We need hardly say that we want communal representation through communal electorates. We have no faith in nominations and representation by nomination is no real representation. Our men elected directly by us can alone communicate faithfully to the Government our thoughts and feelings, our grievances and suggestions for our improvement. Our sorrows are too deepseated to be

expressed by others. Besides a communal electorate is a political school for educating a community in the effective exercise of the Franchise and effective criticism of the actions of these representatives.

It is of the utmost importance when the constitution of India is to be revised, that the revision should be based upon a thorough and searching examination of the position of our community in the population of this country.

Our men are employed in productive labour. We are the real wealth producers of the country and yet we are kept down in poverty.

Our children must have the benefit of education at all costs. Education alone will make our homes brighter and our labour sweeter.

It is not enough to teach the three R's and let the children drift on in life without compass or rubber. We ought to teach them to earn the daily bread by some useful occupations in which both intelligence and manual labour will be simultaneously brought into exercise. Schools should be started in which ordinary education should be imparted and at the same time handicrafts, arts and trades covering the whole field of life should also be taught.

Elementary education ought to be made compulsory in all provinces and especially for our boys and girls. Secondary education should be given free to our community.

The oligarchs evidently think that if we are kept in ignorance they could reign supreme. If they think by repressing the healthy growth of self-respect and independence in us they can go on reigning for ever, I say they are mistaken. Why should we remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for ever ? Why should they remain lords over us for ever ? The wheel of progress is moving. At any rate whether in the near future or at a distant future the position of the wheel must change.

The large sums now spent by the people an liquor would be available for raising the standard of comfortable living and the abstinence practised will increase the efficiency

of the workmen and raise their self-respect. Viewed form this standpoint, I am particularly concerned that our people, who are exposed more perhaps than other classes to the temptations of drink, should be rescued from this demon. Their economic, nay, their moral and social uplift, depends largely upon their moral and social uplift, depends largely upon their giving up drinking habits and turning sober as a class. Not that other classes do not drink; while the case of our people is pitiable, the case of other classes is culpable.

Before I sit down, let me tell you that in view of our helplessness we must claim special protection and request the benefit of special protection and request the benefit of special measures for some decades to come. To the Government of India we owe the initiation of measure which we look upon as securing the progress of the Depressed Classes in South India. In consequence of the Government of India's letter to them, the Government of Madras created a special department called the Department of the Protector of the Depressed Classes with a special officer with a separate staff. In every province similar special departments should be created and they should be made permanent and that grants for the ameliorative work of the Depressed Classes should be made Non-Votable.

All the difficulties except the difficulties of the Depressed Classes are being known in England. The Lee Commission was astonished by the evidence given by the members of our community. There can be no doubt whatever that the British Government will feel very great hesitation to place our people at the mercy of a democracy consisting chiefly of caste Hindus. Therefore for some years to come the care and protection of these classes in each and every province should be made a separate subject with a separate budget working directly under His Excellency the Governor.

[The Liberators, 20 May, 1926]

The Modern Politician

Sjt Aurobindo Ghosh writes in the "Sunday Times" :-

"That he represents the best mind of the nation or its noblest aims or its highest instincts cannot be asserted of the modern politician in any part of the world : he does not represent the soul of a people or its aspiration; what he does usually represent is all the average pettiness, selfishness, egoism, self-deception that is about him and these he represents well enough as well as a great deal of mental incompetence and moral conventionality timidity and pretence. Great issues often come to him for decision, but he does not deal with them greatly; high words and noble ideas are on his lips, but they become rapidly the clap trap of a party. The disease and falsehood of modern political life is patent in every country of the world and only the hypnotised acquiescence even of the intellectual classes in the great organised sham, the acquiescence that men yield to everything that is habitual and makes the present atmosphere of their lives, cloaks and prolongs the malady. Yet, it is by such minds that the good of all has to be decided, to such hands that it has to be entrusted, to such an agency calling itself the State, the individual is being more and more called upon to give up the government of his activities. As a matter of fact, it is by no means the good of all that is thus secured, but a great deal of organized blundering and evil with a certain amount of good which makes for real progress, because Nature move forward always in the midst of all stumbling and secures higher aims in the end as often in spite of as by means of man's imperfect mentality."

Editorial Observations

Satyagraha for temple-entry.

On 16th May the Kanivars in Narispur (Mysore) started Satyagraha for the right to enter temples. These Kanivars are a section of untouchables. This Satyagraha as well as the Satyagraha in Travancore which Mahatmaji has blessed,

will be meaningless and even unjustifiable if we bring into existence separate temples for untouchables, which may bring untouchable godlings into being.

Hindu Sangathan

It must be admitted that Hindu Sanghathan has allowed itself to be misunderstood and misconstrued. We find some misunderstanding even in a friendly journal edited by a Hindu gentleman. Writing in its issue of 13th May, the Servant of India observes "The Sanghathan and Tanzeem movements of today being but the logical expression of that communalistic and antinalence." It could not be due to anything but ignorance of the Sanghathan movement to describe it as tit-for-tat and violence. Certainly the knowledge of English language of the editor of the "servant of India" is not deficient or shallow. Nor can he be suspected of any desire to mispresent the Sanghathan movement. If he can describe it as an expression of some spirit "in terms of tit-for-tat and of violence," the organisers of the movement must practise introspection, and when this objectionable expression is alleged to be of "antinationalistic" spirit, they must reexamine their whole position.

The Vital defect

The vital defect of Hindu Society is that it is the most heterogeneousmined. The strength of the opponents of Sanghathan and Shuddhi lies in their repudiation even by large classes of Hindus. In the South a conference of Vishwa Brahmans was held in which a resolution was adopted that would show how far Hindus themselves have misconceptions about Shuddhi as well as Sanghathan. Is there a Mohamedan who will differ on the right of Islam to proselytise and extend ? Is there a Mohamedan who will ask the Moslems in India not to organise themselves ? Is there a Mahomedan who condemns laws enacted to punish apostasy from Islam ? On all these points, Hindus are divided and owing to this division, the Mohamedans in the North and Christians

in the south are able to condemn the promoters of the legitimate and necessary movements of Shuddhi and Sanghathan. If all Hindus agree that consolidation and reclamation are not only necessary but are only the inside and outside aspects of the work required to maintain the integrity of Hinduism, the attacks that are at present levelled against these movements will become weaker and will gradually stop.

Evidence

Mere explanation and securing a unanimity of views will not suffice. Tangible evidence must be forthcoming to show that Sanghathan is not aimed at others but is aimed at the defects in the Hindu Society. The touchstone of Sanghathan is the treatment of untouchables. Every day brings to notice cases of flagrant injustice to the Depressed Classes. If the Hindu Mahasabha will not take remedial action in such cases, it will prove itself an impostor and will expose the Sanghathan movement to the charge of being only "tit-for-tat". The Hindu Mahasabha has therefore, a fourfold duty in connection with the Shuddhi and Sanghathan movements, viz. 1. Introspection 2. Explanation 3. Correction and 4. Construction. Let the attacks chasten the organisers who will do well to avoid unnecessary harsh language. So many Hindus took umbrage at the speech of Sir Abdur Rahim in last Christmas. Let the Hindu speakers, who wish to really consolidate the Hindu Community, weigh their words and avoid every unnecessary word that may prove offensive. They are, of course, entitled to quote paetinent facts and figures. Beyond that it will be desirable to work better and address the Hindus themselves about their defects. "What can he, who brags, do?" asks an adage.

Tanzeem in Bengal

Dr. Kitchlew has at last succeeded in planting his Tanzeem at Calcutta where a Provincial Tanzeem Committee was formed on 18th May. An appeal has been issued for

the sum of five lakhs and may be responded to since the committee was inaugurated in the house of Nawab Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury. If these five lakhs do materialise, we shall wait to see how they are used; if they are to be used to take the communal fight to the cottage because the Mohamedan has found himself worsted for the first time, we shall have to inquire what kind of Tanzeem it will be. We hear of the daily repetition of attacks on temples in East Bengal. We may bring to the notice of the public that in about a fortnight there were more than a dozen cases in the Noakhali District alone, although such a mention may be humiliating to the Musalmans. We cannot help the person or persons who does or do not feel humiliated by the acts but does or do by a mention thereof. Even after these daily coming reports, we do not hear any responsible Muslim leaders condemning these desecrations of places of worship. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya exhorted his Hindu audience not to molest any Muslim because such molestation meant an invitation to a Moslem to molest a Hindu. Is their a single Musalman leader telling this coreligionists to refrain from attacking places of worship of Hindus? They appear rather to be filed with glee at the spectacle of Hindus going down and Hindu temples being brought down everywhere ! Who knows if these five laks are not meant to defend in Courts of Law those numerous Moslem offenders who stand the offchance of being arraigned if at all the conscience of the Christian Bureaucracy happens to be aroused.

Not Fanciful

There are not fanciful guesses. It is not unmeaning that Dr. Kitchlew is going on preaching that Islam is the only true religion. It is not unmeaning that the language used in the Council by Mr. Guznavi is so similar to that of Dr. Kitchlew in condemning the up-country Hindu. Absolutely certain that Government would not help Hindus against Mohamedans, these Muslim leaders are looking on with

hands in their pockets while their fanatical coreligionists, whom they have managed to keep illiterate, are committing arson and sacrilege. If one Christian church were so much as looked at with a minatory glance, the whole military force of the Government would have been brought into operation. Government did not hesitate to use all amount and in which purely peaceful means were adopted, we mean the attempt of Akali Sikhs to purge their Gurudwaras of the corruption created by Mahants. But when only Hindu Temples are broken, Government do not care for law, order or even for prestige. Under the benign and enlightened British rule, we are experiencing what we heard only of the days of Mahmud Gazni. The President of the special session of the Khilafat conference maintained that it was a shame to turn form an enemy with guns and aeroplanes to an enemy with brickbats and daggers. This shame is nothing as compared to what these Muslim destroyers are busy doing in East Bengal. We do not know to whom this shame is most disgraceful : to the Hindus who are only paying the penalty of their past sins which they will not even now wash off, or to the followers of the Prophet, or to the mighty British Government with their boast of refinement and love of law and order.

Duty of their leaders

Speaking as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Special Khilafat Conference, Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb maintained that his coreligionists were backward in every way. Should it be a fact, it is a positive wrong and steps must be immediately taken to right it. Hindus are as anxious as the Muslim Leaders for the educational and economical uplift and advancement of Hakimji's coreligionists. We may go further and be pardoned for suggesting that Hindus are even more anxious. Because with better education and better economical conditions, the muslims will not blindly run to molest their Hindu brothers at the instigation of some. They will then understand the true teaching of Islam

which is real brotherhood. They will then understand what their coreligionists in Turkey and Egypt do understand. To improve the educational and economical conditions of the muslim masses is real Tanzim and Hindus support such Tanzim. It is not necessary for such a Tanzim to raise an army of 10000 to die at the bidding of Maulana Mahomed Ali, nor is it necessary to hoot out the speaker who refers to Hindus as "brothers." To raise a fund from the general muslim community and then to utilise it not for the betterment of those who are followers of the Prohpet but for the increase, by all sorts of means, of the numbers of such followers is little short of crime. In saying this we are prompted purely by unselfish motives although our interest also prompts us to say pure forward their failure to do their duty to their coreligionists as the ground on which Hindu leaders - only recently roused to their sense of duty albeit partially - should be asked to be guilty of a similar failure. Hindu leaders will only be glad to find that they have been of the least little service to Moslem brothers by rousing in their leaders the consciousness of the duty to improve their position educationally and economically. Any man in his sense and every pious godfearing man will admit that the betterment of those who are in the fold must take precedence of the bringing into the fold those who are not there. To complain against the backwardness of Indian muslims and to use funds for aggressive schemes or for schemes which take away Indian money to non-Indian lands is a callous and grievous wrong, unjustifiable morally or nationally.

A Voice from the Khilafat

Before leaving this topic, we may profitably quote what a daily paper of Constantinople, the Capital of the Khilafat says. Referring to the recent Calcutta riots Milliat of 8th April asks "What is the real cause of these frequent riots in India?", and proceeds to answer "It is none other than religious bigotry and religious differences. Though they

belong to one country, one race, one blood, yet they are divided in religion and modes of living. Wrong notions of religion and strange ideas of sacredness are a characteristic of their life, so much so that they are unable to see further than just what is round about them. They have no regard whatever for their national respect, no consciousness of their slavery : all that matters to them is that particular idea of religion that has taken possession of their minds." We pray this voice form Constantinople may prevail where our voice fails ! The admirable Dr. Kitchlew says "Democracy is the very essence of Islam." Will he answer whether democracy is possible with an autocratic, irresponsible alien power ruling the whole country? He may not care to answer us; will he care to answer the allegation of his coreligionist of Constantinople ?

The Inevitable Result

A Musalman member of the Indian Legislative Assembly wrote a letter to the Punjab Government asking them to prosecute Dr. Munje under Sec. 153-A. We wonder the simplicity of the gentleman. Probably he was not inspired by any greater seriousness than some of the actors in the Melodrama called "the Special Khilafat Conference." The communal electorate is responsible for all the froth demonstrated on either side. Every Musalman leader has to show that he is best guardian of Musalman interests. To use an expression coined by Sir Mahomed Shafi, it is leader-bazi which is responsible for the present race among Musalmans in increasing Hindu-Muslim disunity as it was leader-bazi which rent the Swaraj party in twain within six months of Deshbandhu Das's death. The Musalman M.L.A. asked Dr. Munje to be prosecuted in Punjab. Dr. Munje's real offence was committed in Berar where the Hindus won a legitimate victory in connection with leading processions. The request to prosecute Dr. Munje produced the inevitable result of the Punjab Provincial Executive of the Hindu Mahasabha passing a resolution thanking him for giving a

proper lead and right guidance to the Hindus of Punjab. If it does come to a prosecution, those who talked of slavery, bringing Lalas to terms with the aid of an army of 10000 and shedding riverfuls of blood must be prepared to be in the front line. Unfortunately, the Punjab Government blew gaff on the promising excitement.

Untouchables draw water

In the course of the session of a Hindu Sammelan at Pachenda Kalan, the resolution dealing with the uplift to the Depressed Classes was taken up on the second day i.e. 16th May. It was moved by Pandit Bishambhar and seconded by Chaudhury Bihari Lal. The appeal of the latter produced such an effect that the leading chaudhuries at once went to the platform and said that they would allow members of the socalled untouchable classes to draw water from their wells. Immediately a procession was formed and moved from well to well. Ladies of the Depressed Classes came in all joy to the wells and took out water. The Bhangis were allowed to draw water from Chamar's well.

The Story of Hindu-Muslim Unity

Hakeem Muhammad Ajmal Khan and Maulana Suleiman Nadvi, Chairman and President of the last special session of the Khilafat Conference together with the erstwhile professed nationalist martyrs the Ali brothers, have thrown out their last and first open challenge to the Hindu Community as a whole and the challenge has been taken up by some Hindu leaders as well as by a few Hindu organizations. It is another thing to find out whether the threat of the overflow of pools of blood is to be taken in its literal sense or whether it is the result of the heated imagination of the big brother and his colleagues, but one thing is certain. The speeches of these Muhammadan leaders are full of wrong statements and false misleading invents which cannot be exposed unless a true account of Hindu-Muslim Unity, based on facts, is put before the general public.

Says Maulana S. Nadvi - "At the very outset of the History of the Hindu-Muslim Unity occur Arah and Shahbad where the most outrageous on slaughts were made on Muslamans - Even after this Muhamadans did not organize on the lines of the Hindu Sabha." Let us test the truth of this allegation and go to the very beginning of the Hindu-Muslim relations.

What is called the Indian Mutiny began in May 1857. All the Indian Military units, whether Hindu or Muslim, which rebelled had one objective only. They all marched to Delhi to lay their services at the foot of the Mughal Emperor. The Hindu rulers, Scindia and others together with the Sikhs and Hindus from the Punjab helped the British in saving their situation. It was, hence, natural that the British should think the Musulmans alone to be their enemies. But after some three years the whole mentality of the British rulers was changed and the Musalmans became their favourites while the Hindus fell under suspicion. The reason of this sudden change did not become public until Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali wrote Sir Syed Ahmad's life in 1901 and after giving the history of the great Sayd's attempts at rescaing Muhamadan rebels from ruin gave the reason of the change in the British attitude.

Sir Syed was in Bijnour as Sadr-Ameen, when the mutiny broke out. He saved the families and children of some British Officers from the hands of the mutineers. The head of Bijnour rebels was Nawab Mahmood Khan, Sir Sayad advised him to allow the British families to go away and said - "What will you gain by killing a few English? It is better that you allow them to go away safe and sound and become ruler of the country." - The Hindu Chaudhries of Bijnour defeated Nawab Mahmood Khan who fled to Najibabad. The syed reported the incident to the Commissioner in his own way and he was asked to take charge of the District. The Chaudhries were again defeated by the Nawab and some of them were taken prisoners. The Chaudhries represented to the British Government that they had fought

for the sircar, but Sir Syed Ahmad was in the good graces of the Government and he brought the Commissioner round to the view that the Hindu Chaudhries fought in their own private quarrel and not for the sircar.

Sir Syed was promoted to the office of Sadrull-Sadur and transferred to Muradabad in April 1858. There too be served his coreligionists. He wrote a history of the rising in Bijnour in which he stated that the Hindu Chawdhries of Bijnour had tyrannized over the Muslims. And it was here that he prepared his memorable book on the reasons of the Indian Mutiny of which 500 copies were immediately printed. One copy was sent to the Government of India, another copy was kept by himself and the remaining 498 were despatched to London. It was this book of Sir Syed Ahmad which created a revolution in the mental attitude of the English rulers of India. Without the Hindu knowing anything about it the change had been brought about. I have summarised the reasons given by Sir Syed in an Urdu pamphlet and I have also traced the subsequent history of Hindu-Muslim relations there.

The Hindus knew nothing about the change wrought by Sir Sayyad. He launched his scheme of an Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and the Hindus financed the movement with great generosity. But when his scheme became fait acoompli and the College was opened, Sir Syed changed front and took the Hindus to task for the Hindi-Urdu Controversy and wanted the Muslims completely from their participation with Hindus in their common struggle for political emancipation. He organized his Muslim Educational Conference and began to hold its sittings during the Congress Week. After commencing open propaganda against the Congress and warning the Musalmans to avoid it, Sir Syed established a "Patriotic Association" at Aligarh with the most unpatriotic motive possible and began to publish tracts units behalf telling the English people that the classes of the Indians were against all change in the Government. Writes Maulana Hali on page 176- "The Bengal Papers expressed strong

displeasure at this action of Sir Syed and wrote most violent articles against him. The greatest objection against him was in the beginning he was a partisan of representative Government. His old writings and speeches were reproduced to show that he was a staunch advocate of the liberty of the people, and reason was asked why he had turned round against the Congress which wanted the principle of representation to be translated into practice. When Babu Surendra Nath Banerji went to Aligarh in his tour for collecting the national fund, why did Sir Syed preside at that meeting and supported the movement .... In reply to all these attacks Sir Syed kept silence and although he was called 'sycophant' 'timesever' and what not, yet he did not pay the least heed to such writings so much so that quiver of the critics was denuded of arrows." The result was that in May 1888 Sir Syed Ahmed became Knight Commander of the Star of India.

Sir Syed departed this life in the latter half of 1898, but he left his policy of exclusiveness as a legacy to his followers. There was no sign of rapprochement on behalf of the Musalmans although the Hindus had always been ready to present the olive branch. Sir William Wedderburn came to preside over the Congress Session at Allahabad in December 1910 and as every well wisher of Indian emancipation knew well that salvation lay in Hindu-Muslim Unity alone, Sir William also tried to bring them nearer each other. I was also present in Muhammadan leaders was so unbending that the negotiations led to nothing.

In the meantime Muslim attacks on Hindus went on unabted. It was at such a time that the Arrah riots took place. It is wrong to say that the Hindus did not condemn the black deeds of their co-religionsists. Almost all the Hindus leaders condemned the Arrah rioters; leading Hindu counsel refused to defend them although fabulous fees were offered to them. And what was the result ? About 4000 were convicted of whom some 300 died in prison. Then came the Congress of 1916. The Hindu extremist and moderate leaders were all united and in spite of the protest of the

Hindu Sabha gave special concessions to Musalmans but still the Muslim leaders were not reconciled and did not join their Hindu brethren in the fight for National Freedom. Then came Katarpur which was strongly condemned by me on occasions than one and no Hindu leaders worth the name condoned the offence of their coreligionists.

Maulana Nadvi and Hakeem Saheb ask - "Why did not the Muslims think of Tanzeem at that time ? Well, they never thought of it because their Tanzem was complete. The whole Muslim community put combined pressure on the Government and the Government was not satisfied with the police till some of those arrested were hanged and over 300 incarcerated in Jail of whom more then 100 are still rotting. Compare with this the Delhi riot of 1924 when not even one Muslim butcher could be convicted although a Mandir had been desecrated, 8 Hindus were killed and several, including women, were mercilessly wounded. The Multan, Saharanpur and Kohat affairs would not have occurred if there had been the least organization among the Hindus.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Swamiji's Standing Message

Every new journal (monthly, weekly or daily) when about to be launched into exercise wants a message with blessings form every conceivable public man. My one standing message to all such new ventures is - "stand up for justice and truth eschewing all partisanship and God will bless your efforts." To the requests of publishers of special numbers of Hindu journals for articles, my only reply is "For the sake of National existence, avoid personal bickering and internecine warfare; try to placate those whom you consider your enemies or who think you to be inimically disposed towards them." Whatever I have to say deliberately always finds a place in the Liberator.

After the above standing message I need not send replies to every personnel request.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Removal or Permanence

I read in an Urdu daily :- "At the instance of Mahatma Gandhi Seth Rameshwar Das Birla has donated 25 thousand rupees for the building of a (deva) Mandir for the Untouchables of Amreli. The Mandir is finished and its opening Ceremony was performed on 14th May, 1926." (We ascertained the sum to be two thousand five hundred.) I wonder whether it is a step towards the removal of Untouchability or towards making it permanent. Whenever I find Depressed Classes Missions opening special schools for our suppressed brethren I become hopeless of success in our work. It is not by opening special new schools but by having the children of the socalled Untouchables admitted into already existing public schools and awarding them special scholarships that the problem of Untouchability can be solved. I hope Mahatmaji will exert his great influence with his faithful Hindu discipless in getting the socalled Untouchables entry into the existing Deva Mandirs. Not money but spiritual force, freely exerted, can solve the problem. But the condition of affairs in Nationalist Gujrat is hopeless. I read in Bombay Chronicle of 12th May - "A sensation has been caused in Jambusar at the election of an Untouchable to the Jambusar Municipality. Four Hindu Members have resigned while the rest have promised not to touch the Untouchable member and to the if they ever touched him." I heard a story about the complete removal of untouchability in Bardoli when Mass Civil disobedience was about to be launched. Ladies and gentlemen mixed freely with the socalled untouchables in the presence of Mahatma Gandhi, but when they went home all - ladies, gentlemen and children - took a purifying bath with clothes on. Unless Hindu Society purifies itself by embracing all and sundry as brethren its false is doomed.

Shradhananda Sanyasi.

Aspiration of the Depressed Classes

The address which Mr. R.Veerian M.L.C. delivered as President of the Tenth Adi Dravida Conference on 16th May is a remarkable performance. It is probably the most skilful advocacy of the cause of the submerged fifth of India. It is comprehensive, conciliatory and constructive. It asks the Depressed Classes themselves to rise but at the same time welcomes the help of every body who is in a position to help and offers his help with a sincere heart. "We should not except to be always spoonfed by others. As self-help is the best help, we should do all that lies in our power to orgnaise ourselves as a distinct political entity." Mr. Veerian does not want to spurn sincere service rendered by others and expounds his point of view in the words, "Let me not, however, be understood as saying that we should, at any cost, keep aloof whenever a Brahmin or a Non-Brahmin or the Administration sincerely tries to help us." Lest he should be misunderstood in his wish that the Depressed Classes should organise themselves as a "distinct political entity" he says :- "Of course we have no desire to keep aloof from other communities of classes; but this process of consolidation has got to be gone through till we attain such standard of all round progress as to be able to merge ourselves in the great body of humanity. "

If this be not sufficient, Mr. Veerian adds, "All that I wish to say is that, for some time to come, we cannot afford the luxury of rushing into the shifting sands of Indian party politics, specially at the present time when everything is in a state of flux and when the politically minded classes themselves often do not know their own mind. That this fear of Mr. Veerian is not born of fancy or suspicion is amply proved by the solemn warning which Mahatma has thought it necessary to issue to his Hindu Brethren "against the tendency which one sees now-a-days of exploiting the suppressed classes for a political end." Places as they are, there cannot be any limitation to their aims and aspirations. Their ambition is "to reach the topmost rung of the social

and political ladder as early as possible", and this they can expect to do only by organising themselves as a separate political entity. "Let us hope" says Mr. Veerian "that before long we will have our adequate share of representation not only in the Legislatures but also in the Cabinet." By their very numbers they are entitled to claim such representation. If they were not unfortunately huddled together with Hindus, they would have claimed separate representation next in percentage to the Mohammedans. As a matter of fact, they have all the toil while the caste Hindus carry the spoils. If allocation of Mohammedan seats were calculated on the population basis, Hindus would not allow the untouchables to be taken out of their numbers but if it comes to giving them equal rights, the caste Hindus would at once put an anathema on them. Who ever heard of such equality, they would at once ask.

Such questions-varied according to the mentality of the question-are being asked and objections raised to the enfranchisement of the Depressed. It is admitted that the best political educator is a vote. Still, on enlightened organ of unquestioned sincerity like the "Servant of India" says "Nomination must hold the field for some time to come and as far as the Depressed Classes are concerned, it has so far worked well" and denies the right of representation on the ground interalia of the unwieldiness of electorates. This in the same issue in which the same organ recommends "their own duly elected representatives" to Bhils etc. who are, in number, fewer than a third of the untouchables, are scattered all over India and occupy almost untractable regions. Who is to decide that Depressed Classes? What right have the higher castes to deny to the Depressed Classes a right which they prize and covet ? Had it not been for the complaint so eloquently voiced by Mr. Rajah at Nagpur that the only voice which did not go to England was that of the Depressed, we should have had provision made in the Act of 919 for "reserved seats" on behalf of them. A vote cannot be in any way denied to the untouchable. It must

be given to him as early as possible not so much for the sake of helping him as of helping the higher classes to secure their own ends. "It is of the utmost importance when the constitution of India is to be revised that the revision should be based upon a thorough and searching examination of the position of our community in the population of this country" said Mr. Raja and, we may be sure, these words will attract and deserve attention of those who will consider the next instalment of Reforms. Those political leaders and thinkers, who aspire to have a substantial second instalment in 1930, owe it to themselves to find out ways and means to give a real and effective vote to the Depressed Classes sometime during this year.

In this condition, we may with advantage recall the evidence given before the Lee Commission on behalf of the Madras Depressed Classes. One of the witnesses demanded "when the next instalment of Reforms is granted, the Depressed Classes should have a more powerful voice and that the franchise should be wider : for them than for others." These words contain not only a grave warning but also a very practical suggestion. If we do not take steps now or in the immediate future, it will be wellnigh impossible (considering the things as they are and can be expected to be for the next three years) to have any substantial advancement in constitutional government beyond the broadening of the franchise. In what way those steps can be taken is indicated in the words quoted above. Concede the claim of the Depressed to have separate electorates in all provinces. If on national and high political grounds such a demand cannot be conceded, find out means to bring on the voter's roll as large a percentage of untouchables as there is of the touchables. To fix the same qualification for all voters is to do what we charge the British Government with viz. to give with the right hand only to take away with the left. It is only by fixing a much lower franchise qualification in the case of the Depressed that the problem can be solved. Such a qualification can be found out after

due inquiry made with the definite object of bringing on the register at least one million untouchables as voters for the several provincial Councils altogether.

This will be the best solution in many ways of the intricate problem of securing to the Depressed Classes proper representation in the Legislatures. When in every constituency every candidate will have to beg the vote of- hundreds if not thousands-of men and women belonging to the Depressed Classes, the talk of high caste and untouchability will disappear. The candidate will apparently have to go with his coworkers to the quarters of the depressed classes. They will have to be invited to attend public meetings and will have to be treated on an equal footing with caste Hindus as all votes will be of equal value. Repeated and numerous intermingling will not fail to produce its effect on the minds of one and all from the most orthodox to the most arrogant. This arrangement will cure the mentality that prompted the letter received by Mahatma Gandhi form a Hindu claiming to be his disciple and published in "Young India" about a fortnight or three weeks ago. In no other way will it be possible to prove that Hindus as a class and in a body consider the Depressed Classes really as part and parcel of Hindus Society and not merely as the instrument of strengthening the political position of Hindus visavis other communities.

If neither a special franchise nor separate electorates be conceded to the Depressed by the socalled higher castes, the separates tendency will be strengthened. The desire of men like Mr. Veerian that the day should hasten on which they will merge themselves in the great body and will be able to say with legitimate pride :- "We and Indians first and Adi Dravidas next" will be defeated; the party which says we are Adi Dravidas first and Indians afterwards will grow strong. Nomination can never satisfy any class of the population of a country. The past history entitles the Depressed Classes to distrust the higher castes. They are quite justified in asking delivery of goods before they will

agree again to be without the indirect protection of the alien power which grinds all alike. They are within their rights to say "place us in fact and present on a level with you, otherwise we shall remain content with common disabilities and help the power that imposes and can impose those disabilities on you. Your words alone will no more count with us than the mere words of British politicians count with you."

It is not only the past but even the present conduct of the socalled higher castes which gives room for suspicion in the minds of the Depressed Classes that they will be denied equality of opportunity in the race of life and will not be treated as human beings if the paramount power of the British Government hands over their destinies to the higher castes. In spite of all the tall talk about Sanghathan, the Hindu Mahasabha has not succeeded in doing any thing for the Suppressed and has, in fact, cared more for a few laks of Sanatanists than for sixty million untouchables. The Hindu Mahasabha adopts unanimous resolutions about Shuddhi but has to pass by majority propositions recommending certain minimum facilities to be given to the Untouchables. So far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, the less said the better. Only the other day the Provincial congress Committee of the most advanced and consmopolitan city viz. Bombay agreed to the princely grant of Rs. 50 per mensem for the Kumar Vinaya Mandir of Matunga as against Rs. 500 to the Rashtreeya Gujrati Shala which is patronised by rich merchants. And we venture to guess that even this pittance of Rs. 50 per mensme would not have been granted but for the advocacy of Mr. B.G.Kher, one of the vicepresidents. Other political parties are more concerned with controversies regarding acceptance of ministerships and are rudely shaken out of those controversies only when riots occur and life is made insecure. The Depressed Class leaders are doing the only proper thing in demanding "delivery of goods" which higher classes will fail to give only at their risk.

Depressed Classes

In the course of his inaugural address, the President of the Non-Brahmin conference held in Bombay at the beginning of this month said :-

Our movement aims at the elevation of the masses. The depressed classes from an integra portion of the masses. So it is the duty of every one of us to improve their position which is deplorable indeed. Their present condition constitutes a grave blot on our social arrangements. For the welfare of these classes, it is very necessary that what is possible for us to do for them must he done for them. We must not neglect to improve their social status. Their very touch is regarded as pollution. This is deeply revolting to our sense of justice when they are human beings like ourselves. They have brains to think and hearts to feel like our own. When we touch lower animals we do not feel any sense of pollution. But we see pollution in the touch of these persons. When any of these persons embraces Islam or becomes a convert to Christianity, we do not feel least hesitation in shaking hands with him and the idea of pollution is absent from our mind as if either Islam or Christianity has the magic power of removing pollution. No sensible man can say that this is a satisfactory state of things. The sooner we purge ourselves of the sin of pollution, the better.

[The Liberator, 27 May, 1926]

Entry into the Juma Masjid

As usual I was making a round of the City when scores of Hindu gentlemen told me that our Musalman brethren insisted on the Hindus going inside the Masjid and joining the Memorial Meeting and asked my advice as to the course they should adopt. The reason of the enquiry was this. Non-Muslims had no right of entry into the great mosque without the sanction of the Mosque Managing Committee, especially when nimaz was going on. I asked them to wait

and went to consult Mr. Abdul Rahman Vakeel whose office was close by. Mr. Abdur Rahman advised me not to go without consulting Hakeem Saheb. As Hakeem Saheb was not at home I returned to my ashram determined not to go out till Nimaz and memorial service was over by 2'O clock.

I was busy writing when by one p.m. about 50 Musalman gentlemen boarded my humble lodgings and lovingly forced me down. A tonga was waiting. In the way they requisitioned several conveyances one faster than the other till an empty motor was found. I was then hurried on and reached the southern steps of the Jumman Masjid. I saw some people about to come down but when they saw me ascending the steps shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jaya" and "Hindu-Musalman ki Jaya" went forth and all of them turned back. The gathering inside could not be less then 30 thousand. I was going to sit behind the last man when other Musalman breathers came running and took me inside the buildings and then outside, where a permanent wooden pulpit stood for the preachers's use. Maulvie Abdul Majeed was addressing the audience. He stopped waiting for me to go up. I hesitated. A hundred voices urged me to go up. After ascending two steps I again hesitated. The huge audience was up on its legs and with one voice called upon me to go up. When I reached the pulpit they sat down.

I expected Maulvie Abdul Masjeed to go on with his sermon. But he stopped with the remark : "You have heard what he Quran Majeed says about the blood of the martyrs. Swami Shraddhanand will now tell you that the Holy Ved which is believed to be the revelation according to our Hindu brethren, inoculates the same teachings." It was a sudden call. I had to stand up. I recited the Vedic verse which inculcated the Fatherhood and the Motherhood God.

त्वं हि नः पिता वसो त्वं माता शतक्रतो बभूविथः।
अधाते सुम्नमीमहे।।

I called upon the huge audience to bear testimony to the innocence of the martyrs and ended with calling upon

them to fall at the feet of Him who was the Father and Mother of all. I recited the following from the Urdu poet

"Hindu ne sanam men jalwa paya tera.
Atish pai fighan ne ras gaya tera.
Dehri ne kiya dehr se tabir tujehe.
Inkar kisi se ban na aya tera."

Those who were present can well describe the scene. And when I thrice repeated. "Om shantih, Ameen !" and the whole audience followed me with one reverberating voice, it was an invigorating spectracle. I came down and left with the audience whose faces showed how impressed they were.

This was followed by Hindu Sadhus addressing from Muslim pulpits in Majids and Musalman divines addressing mixed audiences in Hindu Temples, in all parts of the country. In spite of all that has occurred after that grand scene I am still impressed with its memory and am living in the hope that clouds of doubt will disappear and the bright light of the sun of faith and Truth will shine forth again with all its splendour.

Inside this beautiful scene was being acted and outside the great mosque the armoured cares and the Military and the Police were provokingly in evidence. But the people, exhorted by their leaders, kept their temper admirably.

The same evening, Lt. Colonel Beadon, the Deputy Commissioner, called a meeting of the Government officials and the raises of the city and read out his memorable printed notice to the public dated 2nd April in which he called the crowd which had assembled on the Railway station as a mob of Badmashes. In the evening the same printed notice was posted at different parts of the city and there was great commotion. The Lt. Colonel Beadon published a notice calling upon the relations of the killed and the wounded to go and lay their grievances before him at the townhall. But people had lost all faith in his justice and nobody responded to the call. The local Satyagrah Sabha drafted

a reply to Lt. Colonel Beadon's incorrect statement and issued a counter-notice which was distributed on the morning of April 6th, 1919. This reply of the Satyagrah Sabha will show that as we, in Delhi, had already celebrated the day of humiliation and prayer on March 30th, we proposed simply to hold a protest meeting in the evening and had no intention of calling upon the people of close their business on April 6th, 1919 which, as announced by Mahatma Gandhi, was to be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer throughout India. The local Satyagrah Sabha passed a resolution and posted big posters to the effect in the city.

The doings of the C.I.D.

It is necessary at this place to emphasize that the work of calming the perturbed minds of the people by office bearers of the Satyagrah Sabha and the other Delhi leaders was made difficult by the mischievous actions of the C.I.D. people. On the 31st of March 1919 while Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mr. K.A. Desai, I and others were trying to get shops opened two or three men were found haranguing people, not to open shops until the dead bodies were restored. One of them was recognised by Mr. Desai to be a C.I.D. man and Mr. Desai ran to catch him. But the man disappeared among the crowd. Again on the 1st of April while I with R.B. Sultan Singh got shops on one line from Fathepuri to the clock-Tower opened, we saw a crowd being addressed by somebody behind us. We turned back and standing on R.B.Lala Sultan Singh's carriage, I asked the man (a Muhammadan) what his object was. In a tone which appeared to me to be affected, he said "How can you understand the feelings of those who have had their relations killed. If any relation of yours had been killed you would never have advised the ending of the Hartal." I asked him point blank : "What relation of yours has been killed?" The man appeared to be non-plussed and just at that moment one of the assembled hundreds recognised him as a number of the C.I.D.No sooner was the remark made than the man

disappeared as if the earth had swallowed him. Then on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of April handwritten posters appeared on the wall of the clock-Tower inciting people to murder the Kotwal. This was also considered to be the work either of the C.I.D. or of the police and the same view appeared in the Indian dailies. Moreover during all this time, several persons, whom I afterwards found to be C.I.D. men used to come to me at different times and to submit schemes of violence and I had to speak for hours to convert them to the Satyagrah principles of non-violence and self-suffering.

The hartal of 6th April

Such was the condition of affairs when the Sun rose on Sunday, the 6th April, and people saw with surprise another complete HARTAL. All business was literally stopped. In the morning thousands assembled in the Fatepuri mosque to pray for the souls of the dead. I had again to conduct the prayers. At noon some 15 to 20 thousand assembled in the Edward Park. Almost all the Delhi leaders were present and there were lectures on satyagrah and swadeshi, and people were exhorted to restrain themselves and not to feel any resentment. In the evening there was a huge gathering at Doctor Ansari's compound in Daryaganj. More than a lakh people assembled and there were some 8 overflow meetings. Not a single Lathi was in evidence and the proceedings came to an end peacefully and calmly. No police or military was in evidence near the meeting place and, therefore, no cause for irritation.

The people of Delhi had been pressing me to ask Mahatma Gandhi to come and give his Darshan to the thousands who had learnt a new spiritual lesson from him. As I heard that Mahatmaji was going on tour to the Punjab and Sindh, I wired to him to break journey at Delhi. I did this because I was certain that Mahatma Gandhi's personal contact with the people would make our task of infusing the principles of Satyagrah into them easy. Mahatamaji wired saying that he could leave Bombay on Tuesday evening.

I wired back saying that we were thankful for his telegram and then the following telegram was received by me from him on April 8th, 1919 - "Reaching tomorrow evening. Please keep my arrival strictly private; can bear no public demonstration." I showed this telegram to the other officer-holders of the Satyagrah Sabha alone and did not think it advisable to inform the general public as any public demonstration would have told upon the health of Mahatmaji.

The police and the military were, however, in full display and Lancers began to patrol city from 7.30 p.m. more than two hours before the time of arrival of the train. When I, with some other friends, reached the Delhi Junction Railway station the several platforms were brimming over with the C.I.D. people and the issue of platform tickets was stopped. The train was late in coming because of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest at Palwal. When, however, the train steamed in the awaiting Mahatmaji's arrival, waved their hands exultingly and spoke only one word "arrested !" Then Mr. Mahadeva Desai, Mahatmaji's Secretary, came out and confirmed the news saying that he had Mahatma Gandhi's message to deliver to us.

Mahatma Gandhi's Message and the Evening Meeting

Mr. Mahadeva Desai wrote out Mahatma Gandhi's "message to my countrymen" and we got it typed in the night in my ashram. It was sent round to the papers. On the morning of April 10th there was again a complete Hartal. As there was no time for circulating notices, I left my lodging at about 7.30 in the morning. People assembled in large numbers in the way and the news spread within half an hour that Mahatma Gandhi's message was to be read on the banks of the Jumna to the assembled people. At 9a.m. about 20 thousand people (ladies and gentlemen) had reached the place of the meeting. The message, which is now a classical document, was read and explained by me and

prayers were offered to the Almighty for his long life and the success of the Satyagrah.

In the evening there was another huge gathering numbering about seventy thousand people. The principal resolution, put forward, said :- "This mass meeting of the citizens of Delhi calls upon every Indian to do his duty by his country and following the noble and inspiring example set by Mahatma Gandhi at Palwal, seek the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation or his own imprisonment."

Another C.I.D. attempt at disturbance

When the resolution was about to be put to the vote a strange incident occurred. A man who was standing at the farthest corner of the audience said in a shrill, piercing voice. "Stop; what are you doing? At Palwal 300 goras (British soldier) have been killed and a thousand Jats with LATHIS are bringing Gandhijee here. How dare you pass this resolution?" The audience was thunderstruck and the chairman was at a loss what to do. I at once got up and said loudly. "I have definite information that Gandhiji was taken to Mathura last night and his carriage was attached to the Bombay Mail this morning. This appears to be a C.I.D. man, do detain him." But the man disappeared. Suspicions about his being a C.I.D. man were affirmed because at lease one Inspector, two Deputy Inspectors and a dozen other C.I.D. men were present and nobody tried to arrest the man who was spreading such horribly untrue rumours.

Shraddhanand Sanyasi.

Editorial Observations

Divine Wrath

The tragedy that has overtaken the Aryabhushan Press of Poona is nothing short of Divine Wrath. We are shocked to hear of the exhausting fire that has consumed property worth laks belonging to that living memorial of the late Mr. G.K.Gokhale, the Servants of India Society. We are

grieved to read that the publication of "Servant of India" "The Dnyan Prakash" and "The Sansthani Swaraj" has had to be suspended indefinitely. We have got the greatest reverence for the late Mr. Ranade and the highest regard and warm affection for Mr. Gokhale since 1893. We have faith that the work of these two greatest patriots is not going to vanish. We pray that he may give courage and redoubled energy to the servants of India to rebuild the Press and resume the work with unabated if not augmented vigour !

His Royal Highness

We wrote sometime ago about the part His Majesty is able to play in the public affairs of England generally strike particularly. Now we have found evidence of the part played by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who is reputed to be the most democratic Prince. H.R.H. is a coalowner himself and must be taking sides in that capacity though in this official capacity he has to remain above parties. While forwarding ten guineas as his contribution to "the Somerset Miners" Distress Fund, "H.R.H. expresses his opinion that "it would be an undesirable end to any dispute that one side should have to give in on account of the suffering of their dependents." (Italics ours). Could there be a me explicit judgment in favour of the workers and against capitalists ? This is the clearest expression of opinion hat the grim fight was being fought on the unfairest lines; while the bourgeoisie could expect to live on the reserves of capital, workers would have to surrender because of "the suffering of their dependents." It was only by aggravating these sufferings through the judgments of courts based on onesided laws and through blockades set up under the authority of the onesided Emergency Act, that the party in Power expected to win a victory. The influence both of His Majesty and His Royal Highness worked on the side of humanity and the inhuman game was given up at the earliest apparent opportunity.

Hindu Mahasabha

We entirely agree with the view expressed by Pandit Motilal Nehru in his reply to the Hindu Mahasabha dated 22nd May on the question of liberty to Swarajists to vote on communal matters coming up before Legislative Chambers. We have again and again expressed ourselves, both editorially as well as in an individual capacity against the Hindu Mahasabha taking any direct part in Council activities or identifying itself with any particular group. Such participation will deprive it of its All-Hindu character. Such participation may bring it in conflict with the premier political organisation viz. the Indian National Congress, which would be a very undesirable contingency. We have said that fissiparous tendencies will at once manifest themselves and the bark of Hindu Mahasabha will founder on the political rock. Already we have begun to see some of the dire effects of such a course. Provincial Governments have begun to issue instructions to civil servants not to have anything do with it. These will have the effect of damping the enthusiasm of those who desire to gain worldly advantages by social intercourse with high officials. On the other side staunch Congressmen may keep away from the Mahasabha activities if the Mahasabha supports candidates nominated say by the newly formed "National Party" on the ground that the party is going to give liberty to vote on communal matters. If Hindus leave the Mahasabha on either side, the result will be that it will be converted into a caucus. The Organisation is taking root in all parts of India only during the recent past. Is it going to march from infancy to senility and may be to extinction ?

Mispresentation

We are not inclined to quarrel with Gandhi for his visit to the Ag. Governor of Bombay. That job we leave to those who are supremely busy finding out arguments to support their pet interpretation of that great slogan coined and introduced by Lokmanya viz. "Responsive Co-operation."

We confess, at the same time our inability to agree to some of the dicta uttered by him in last week's "Young India." When he was told that he was misrepresented as to part he played in connection with the notorious "Sabarmati" Pact, he refused to say anything for publication on the basis of the rule of his life "never to explain misrepresentation except when the cause requires correction.' If Gandhiji had read all that was said about his part, we might have swallowed this explanation. The fact on his own admission is that he "studiously avoided reading the literature about the pact." Without reading what was said, how could he decide that the cause did not require correction ? Gandhiji is always emphatic in his reformer's role. Has a reformer not to speak a language which is within the ken of those whom he seeks to reform or convert ? We cannot understand how Gandhiji could determine the necessity or otherwise of explanation without reading the pertinent literature.

Domestic quarrel.

In that same para Gandhiji refers to the controversy over the never made "pact" as a purely "domestic" quarrel. With greatest respect, we demur to this appellation. Whether ministerships should or should not be accepted in the name of the Indian National Congress is not a domestic affair. It is essentially a public affair concerning the whole nation whether congressmen or noncongressmen, whether voters or nonvoters. It was sought to be treated as a family concern. Untouchability, invisility and unapporachability were all claimed for it. Such a claim could not be allowed and, thank god, was not allowed. The whole Nation including the Anglo-Indian Journalists have written about it. The principle foremen of one of the parties to the pact have definitely cast their lot with a party outside the Congress in complete defiance of their own public declarations not to join any party outside the Indian National Congress. Even Gandhiji cannot be excused for a failure to know the nationwide interest which attached to this "pact". If really he wants the right to remain ignorant of such things, the ought to have totally stood

out of the atmosphere in which this pact was being hatched. He did not only remain within sight of the process but was also taken up as an integral part of the organisation responsible of he breeding of whatever bird was to come out of it. The whole world knows of his connection. Does Gandhiji believe that his connection is still preserved as a secret by the "nine"? If he does, he is thrice blessed ! He cannot expect the world to accept the title "domestic" quarrel which Mahatmaji conferring on this controversy that has, now definitely-at least so do we hope - come to an end. For the rest we may add that the patronising epithets "patriots" & "my coworkers" even coming from the Mahatma have no significance.

Music before Mosques

Even through the dense darkness, we feel as if we see chinks of light. The Moslem leaders of Pabna have come forth to condemn defilement of Hindu images by Musalmans. We have begun to hear voices of Musalmans raised against compulsory stoppage of Music before Mosques. Of course these are coming from all parts except North India. In this Imperial Capital, we find even the Managers of a School have attempted to stop music before it on the prosperousness plea that it is also used as a Mosque some times. And the authorities have arrested, according to a Press report, one person. The license of processions appears in Delhi to have, in some cases, been amend to suit the evergrowing Moslem Demand. The Privy Council have, of course, decided that no community can be allowed to restrict the use of a highway by another community taking processions with or without music. This Judgment can apparently, not be flouted; it does, however, contain a convenient provision with the aid of which the Executive Officers can defeat it in spirit. A competent authority has only to include any number of mosques in a licence and music shall stop before them. The King's order is obeyed in the letter. The party which threatens trouble is also appeased. In Bengal Lord Lytton

promised to give a decision in this matter but has apparently decided that discretion is the better part of valour. In all this confusion we read with some hopefulness the following which concludes the judgment of Mr. F.B.Pool, 1st class magistrate :-

"The Garda masjid abuts the public road going through the bazar. The processionists have every right to take their processions past the mosque at any time provided they did not obstruct the road to the disorganisation of traffic. It was only the local authorities who could regulate their passing and playing of music. The Musalmans had no right to interfere with their movement or music and the way they acted indicated that they wished to enforce their will on another community. Under no circumstances could this state of things be permitted. No community had a right to take the law into their own hands. It was daily giving rise to religious animosity and must be put down with a server hand as an example."

The Pedagogue

We do not know if the establishment of the "Statesman" has got a School-master on it. Confronted with the difficulty of explaining how it was that the numerous streetnoises did not disturb moslem prayers, the pedagogue comes forward with a lexicographic distinction between "disturb" and "distract", and intoxicated with this invention, expands himself in a lengthy pronouncement which, in his opinion, demolishes the Hindu query. The Pedagogue does not even wait to see what reception his new formula has got at the hands of those whom he wished to flatter. Even taking him at his word, we may ask whether the street noises are all of one sort or perfectly monotonous. Taking the particular illustration given by this erudite Scholar, does he vouchsafe that an editor's mind is neither disturbed nor distracted if on account of some irregularity the machine begins to make a variety of sounds ? All varieties of noises are to be heard in a street. Criers do not all cry in the

same uniform note. There may be a street brawl. When a steam roller is working on a road by the side of a mosque, it makes all sorts of sudden sounds. It stops working any time, begins any time. It whistles. Workmen come in large numbers occasionally and produce shrill shrieks which again are of different pitch as well as volume at different minutes. All the elements, which in the opinion of this monument of linguistic exactitude go to "distract" as against "disturb", are present in the working of a steam roller. Still there is no objection to it; but there is objection to Hindu music passing by a mosque. The "Statesman" ought to know that pedagogy touches only the scurf of the body. Apparently it finds itself in the uncomfortable position of being dragged in one direction by the belly and in the other by the heart, in one by mischief and in the other by judgment. We were on the tiptoe of expectation to hear what oracel Lord Lytton was going to deliver. Apparently His excellency is in labour and the pedagogic wrigglings of the "Statesman" are only so many bulletins of the pangs. It is this uncertainty of the official mind that is causing the greatest anxiety and trouble all over India. We ask Lord Irwin to get this uncertainly ended.

At Panipat

After the appeal made at Delhi for 10000 Volunteers to die at the bidding of Maulana Mohammad Ali (Mahatma Gandhi must change the portfolios to be eutrusted to Ali Brothers), challenge was thrown out at Patna to the Hindus to come to Panipat for a fight. Since Delhi is close to Panipat and Patna is afar off, this far off city must have been selected for issuing this challenge owing to some important events occurring after the special session of the Khilaphat Conference. May be ten thousand Voluteers have been enlisted under the officiating Commander-in-Chief or perhaps the Secretary of State for war Maulvi Mohammad Shafi Daudi M.L.A., to which office he qualified himself by his recent victory against Pandit Motilal. Apparently we are going to

have a battle royal. We are, however, inclined to make some inquiries. Have the British Government declared Panipat to be noman's land ? Have the British Government repealed the Arms Act for the Panipat Area ? Or have they only granted Arms to Mohamedans who are being ousted, blackmailed etc. etc. ? What is going to be the position of armoured cars and aeroplanes ? Are the cars going to be in the rear of the Hindus ? Are planes to hover over the Hindus ? What is to be done about the supply of rations ? Are they to be supplied only to the 10000 ? We earnestly request the Local Government in charge to publish a Gazette Extraordinary giving all these particulars with the additional information about the approximate date. Of our friend the Secretary of State for war we ask whether the opposing forces are to be in the proportion of the diameter of a circle to the circumference i.e. 7 to 22. He may give the reply through the special service of the A.P.I. It is also necessary to engage the service of Router. We have further got to ask whether the right of taking pictures for screening is to be sold by public auction or by private arrangements to some American Corporation, or whether there is going to be a cinetophone installation. Are bands to play ? This inquiry is necessary because we cannot imagine how far the nearest mosque will be. The last query is whether all the ten thousand are to pray five times a day and whether the grim fight is to stop at the hours of prayer.

A HUMAN APPEAL

Superhuman Soul

Dear BrotherMahatma Gandhi,

I learn with great concern, that you have made up your mind to go to Finland. I wonder what refreshing message you will have the heart to deliver to the students assembled there, by word of mouth, while the result of the united efforts of yourself and your devoted colleagues is evident in the fratricidal war and its concomitants, in India. You will perhaps say they you have washed your

hands of the whole affair like Pilate; but has posterity justified Pilate, pardoned him ?

It is stated that you not only mean to remain inactive yourself in this emergency but have also advised other Indian political leaders not to interfere, expecting that when the Hindus and the Muslims will be exhausted with their fratricidal warfare, you will then be able to handle them and to lead them to swarajya. I read somewhere in Mediaeval Indian History that the Emperor Jehangir was once at Hardwar, during a Kumbh Mela. The Sanyasis and the Bairagies were arryed in battle for the privilege of having the first plunge in the Ganges. Jehangir called away the police and the Military and enjoyed from a raised platform the whole fun of coreligionists butchering each other for obtaining salvation. Well, the Hindu Faqirs killed each other to their heart's content, but that fratricidal butchery was never stopped until the British Government interfered. And still there is always an apprehension of the breach of peace, because the ignorance which led to the internecine quarrel then still reigns supreme among the Hindu mendicants. I do not think you will succeed better than Jahangir. When you went on 21 days' fast in Delhi at the end of 1924, and a Unity Conference was called at your bidding by Maulana Muhammad Ali, Hakeem Ajmal Khan and myself, the response was wonderful. Even the Christian Metropolitan joined and each vied with the other in making the conference successful. The passing of the resolutions was very well, but my suggestion was to obtain a board of not less than 15 persons of influence who would throw up all other work for a year and go round the country setting all standing disputes under your guidance. Mr. B.F. Bharuhcha of Bombay actually proposed a detailed resolution but he was not allowed to move it. Our proposal was, however, taken by the president - Pandit Motilal Nehru - to you but you simply wanted one Hindu and one Muslim to help you and it was with the greatest difficulty that you were induced to agree to a Parsi a Sikh and a Christian being added. The committee

consisted of (1) yourself, as president (2) Hakeem Ajmal Khan or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (3) Pandit M.M. Malviya or Lala Lajpatrai (4) Mr. G.K. Nariman (5) Master Sunder Singh of Lyalpur and (6) Dr. Dutta. The whole control and initiative rested with you but you never moved and never called upon your colleagues to try their hands at reconciliation. At the present moment, whenever you are approached and asked to interfere, your invariable reply is that you have no influence either with the Hindus or with the Muslims. Did not Bengal, only recently, give an illustration of your influence with the Hindus ? And with respect to your influence with the Muslims, I cannot vouch for it as regards those leaders in whom you showed complete confidence, but I know of others who would help you and be guided by you in this noble cause.

You know well that I have ever avoided making a show of my difference with you in the press and I have never publicly appealed to you like others - But this is a unique occasion. If you sailed during the first week of June, there would hardly be any time for the public to approach you, if my private appeal with you failed. If you make up your mind to lead the movement of peace and reconciliation I offer my services for what they are worth. I know that I am the worst hated man in some quarters but I have faith in my own singlemindedness and honesty of purpose and if I get an occasion to work, I am sure you will succeed in impressing upon others your own opinion of my sincerity.

Then there is Maulana Abul Khan Azad than whom no better advocate of unity could be found. And you can make your own selection from amongst scores of Hindu and Musalman leaders who are sure to offer their services in this sacred cause.

Dear brother ! do not hesitate. No doubt your faith is strong and deep in Charkha getting Swarajya for the nation, but if the nation itself express where will charkha be then ? In order to clear the ground for charkhas, which appear to be at a discount at present, it is necessary to

get under control the great stem-roller of communal animosity and hatred which is crushing all mutual sympathy and love of independence under its giant feet Muslim and Hindu leaders and publicists have asked you to take courage in both hands and speak out boldly against the party which is in fault. I do not join in that chorus. I implore you to come down from you superhuman height among common human beings and with love and sympathy apply balm to their lacerated hearts and United India will bless you!

Shraddhanand Sanyasi.

A Victory of the Untouchables

Through the efforts of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha Delhi, a decision has been arrived at by the Delhi Municipality that the schools maintained with public funds should be open to members of all classes and creeds. The son of Nanakchand an Upadeshak of the Sabha and himself an untouchable sought admission to the Municipal Board School, Kabli Gate and was not admitted. The matter was taken to the Municipality with the above mentioned result.

The Rule of Claw

In 1924 when the Government of India issued the famous Ordinance, Deshbandhu Das appealed to All-India leaders in Bombay not to "isolate" Bengal and Bipin Chandra Pal supported the appeal with all his preferred oratory. Today under the leadership of the same orator supported by Mr. B. Chakravarty and Mr. Gaznavi, Bengal has chosen to "isolate" herself. Let these leaders note that next time Bengal suffers, she will not be entitled to a hearing of her appeal not to "isolate Bengal." The Council proceedings were marked by a characteristic feeling of dread and insecurity. Even at this hour of tension between communities, it is creditable and promising that the votes were not divided communally. In both the lists there is a fair proportion of Hindus and Musalmans. This is the only faith glimmer of light in a throughly dismal outlook.

Lord Lytton delivered a very unctuous address in support of Government motion for additional powers. His Excellency must be an incorrigible optimist if he believes that his denial of charges brought against the executive authorities is a satisfactory refutation. The leader of the Swaraj party was anticipated by his Excellency in his inaugural address. "We have been told" said Lord Lytton, "that we have shown indifference and incompetence : that we have not used the powers we already possess to get rid of bad characters; and that to cover up our own sins of omission we are now asking for new and wholly unnecessary powers when it is too late etc." In this case, the leader of the Swaraj party in Bengal has the support of almost all parties the Punjab Hindu has become an eyesore. The most eloquent support comes from the ministerial organ of Madras viz. "Justice " which is always at loggerheads with the Swaraj Party. "So far as the public are concerned" observes our contemporary "the lesson o the last month's riots is not that the government were not in possession of adequate powers to give it hot to the goondas responsible for the trouble, but that they did not realise the gravity of the situation as expeditiously as they ought to have." In a moment of panic a very small percentage of elected members joined hands with the cabinet of Lord Lytton. The accidental conspiracy of Lord Lytton and Dr. Kitchlew has saved the defaulters from a just vote of censure.

What the Bengal Council failed to do is being done by the towns and villages of East Bengal. The fact testified by Earl Winterton that Lord Lytton's Government did not mind breaches of law and outbreaks of disorder and desecrations of places of worship so long as the object of the lawbreakers was not Civil Disobedience, the disorders did not endanger European lives and Christian Churches were not violated, is being daily proved by the attacks on Hindu Temples. Whether it is only the general desire to see all possible chance of Hindus and Musalmans ever uniting in the active service of India or the particular desire to

restore the rule of the Musalman being the undefeated aggressor, that is at the basis of the supine attitude of the Bengal Government, is a question we cannot answer. The Governor of Bengal had, of course, the detachment of outlook which enabled him to indulge in a rhyme of the Rule of Law and the Rule of claw. We have, now, to ask Lory Lytton whether his conception of the "Rule of Law by which civilised communities governed" is that Musalmans should be allowed (perhaps encouraged) to desecrate Hindu Temples and Hindus should be made to look on with unconcern with the occasional chance to wait upon His Excellency in a deputation. We have a mind to ask the Hindu Bengalee M.L.C's who voted with Lord Lytton whether they bade for these attacks on Temples when they bade for these attacks on Temples when they supported the bill providing additional arbitrary powers to the executive. We may ask a further question in view of their acceptance of the proposition about the Non-Bengalle Hindus being the rioters, whether they look upon the Hindu Temples of Bengal to be so exclusively the sole property of Bengalees that Non-Bengalee Hindus must not even be allowed to help in their defence.

To adopt the words of "Justice" an organ which cannot be charged with any anti-British Bias or with a penchant for condemning the Indian Government. "In the Hindu-Muslim riots reported from Kharagpur" there is "all the evidence that is necessary to prove that legislation of the kind embodied in the Emergency Bill is not a panacca for the ills the province is suffering from at present." Such an illconceived legislation "can only tend to create fear in the minds of the law-abiding and the innocent and not the criminal and the lawless." The utmost that the Government can do under the provisions of this law, under which about three hundred persons are to be victimised, is to make a small area comparatively safe at the cost of the safety and tranquillity in a far larger area. Goondas can be driven to the mofussil, "the very places where an atmosphere of

insecurity to person and property can be precipitated to more rapidly than in the Presidency area." The Government failed to tackle the nuisance. Instead of taking the cue from their own superiors and countrymen in England who have refused to take advantage of the crisis caused by the unprecedented general strike for passing legislation to curtail the privileges of Trade Unions or to strengthen the hands of the executive Government, the Government of Bengal profiteered and rushed the Council on the downward incline. When the danger will spread widely throughout the Presidency as it has been doing throughout the month of May, the legialtors will be again summoned in a hurry and will be presented, at the point of danger, with a demand for more drastic powers enforceable throughout the presidency. Having got some way down the incline, the legislators will be helpless against being precipitated to the very bottom. They may then grumble but will not be able to save themselves from the fall. The loud thunder of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal will not then have any air to resound to it.

[The Liberators, 3 June, 1926]

Lathis Began to Appear

From the very morning of 14th April 1919, Lathis began to appear. At noon, the Chief Commissioner called a meeting of local leaders and they all went to the Townhall. I heard that men with Lathis were going to the Townhall. Between 3 and 4 in the afternoon one man on a Tonga and another on foot went running towards the Sadar Bazar crying that Swamiji (meaning me) had been taken to the Railway Station and a special train was waiting to take him to an unknown destination. Some hundreds of the Sadar people armed themselves with Lathis and were running and boarded my humble lodging and I had to show myself to all by going downstairs before they could trust that all was right.

In the meanwhile Hakim Ajmal Khan and other Leaders had returned from the Town Hall and after seeing them safe at Hakim Sahib's place the people went and held a meeting in the Edward Park where Faqir Mohammed, a C.I.D. Inspector and a Head Constable were assaulted but were saved by Satyagrahis.

At 6 p.m., in the night on that very date I received a letter from the Deputy Commissioner asking me to join the Conference at the Townhall next morning.

The Townhall Meeting

On the 15th of April I and Hakim Sahib made a tour of the city and after trying to induce the butchers to open shops we reached the Townhall after 10 and saw all the other leaders there. The Chief Commissioner with Deputy

Commissioner and police and military were also there. As I went in, shouts of "Gandhiji ki jai" "Hindu Musalman ki jai" were raised outside on the Chandni Chowk Road. I was asked by the authorities to go and calm the people. I went out and asked them to the be quiet and they at once became silent. But there was again a stir and the reason was plain.

I looked behind and saw Colonel Beadon coming out. I exhorted the people to keep quiet and took Colonel Beadon in. I noticed at that time that Lathis were becoming more prominent in crowd. After an hour's consultation it was resolved, that the chaudhries and other prominent men from the city should also be called for final decision at 4p.m. that day.

I and Hakim Ajmal Khan induced the butchers to commence business about 4p.m. and when we reached the Townhall we saw about fifty citizens in consultation with the Chief Commissioner and other officials. On the road in front of Queen Victoria's statue some 15 to 20 thousand people were standing, out of whom more than one half had Lathis in their hands. On the Railway road side also about 3 to 4 thousand were assembled. The people were telling me plainly that they were to guard their leaders and if any thing went wrong they would lay down their lives to defend them (the leaders). I tried to calm them and told them that they were mistaken. They told me in reply that I was mistaken and not they, but promised to obey me in keeping quiet.

I found the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Scott of the Police, and the military officers all very nervous. But the reason of the excitement of the people was plain. One room of the Townhall was full of armed British soldiers, more than a dozen military officers, armed Cap-a-pie, revolvers in hand, were sitting in the conference, one machinegun was mounted on the highest roof of the Hall, and to crown all an aeroplane was flying over the city. It was rumoured that the aeroplane would suddenly alight over the Town

hall roof and would take away the leaders to an unknown destination. Therefore as in the morning so in the evening of April 15th the people shouted "Gandhiji ki jai" "Hindu-Musalman ki jai" every time that the aeroplane came over their heads.

Every official appeared to be excited but there was one calm figure and that was the Honourable Mr. Barron Chief Commissioner of Delhi. No sooner he learnt, from the people's representatives, that the Hartal on April 10th commenced in order to show grief at the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and that it was continued because the people feared that their leaders would be harmed he at once rose equal to the occasion and wrote out his memorable proclamation, ten thousand copies of a Hindustani translation of which were distributed the next morning. It was a memorable occasion. If the head of the province had lost his head at that time the result would have been disastrous. There is no exaggeration, then, in saying that Mr. Barron alone saved the situation that day.

And let me here divulge the secret that it was the way in which Mr. Barron took us (myself Hakeem Saheb and Doctor Ansari) into confidence that led to the subsequent saving of Delhi from the worst from of Marital Law. Mr. Barron showed to me in confidence the instructions of the Viceroy in which every power was offered to the Chief Commissioner. The details were two shocking and horrible to be given here. Mr. Barron said to me - "Swamiji ! I do not want a further drop of blood to be split in the Capital of India." I replied - "Mr. Barron! believe me, my faith bids me to avoid bloodshed at all times; but the Delhi people are at this moment, my special wards." Mr. Barron said - "It was in this very belief that I invited you especially to this meeting."

As the proclamation was being translated by Dr. Ansari, with the help of Hakim Saheb, the crowd on both sides of the Municipal Gardens was getting impatient. At the request of the District Magistrate and the Deputy Inspector

General of Police I went out and calmed the people and with the approval of the Chief Commissioner got the curtains rolled up which calmed the people at once.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Danger to Turkey

Mr. J.L. Garvin writes in the "Observer" :-

"If war between Britain and Turkey broke out over the Mosul question, the Duce would be more than willing to conquer the Smyrna and Adalia regions of Asia Minor, while in alliance with him the Greek Dictator General Pangalos, might be expected to reoccupy. Eastern Thrace and Constantinople them. The magnitude of the danger for Turkey is so great that it may help Mustapha Kemal to keep the peace despite the known pressure of his militarists."

Shudhi in Assam

In District Gauhati there is a village called Jamdighi at which 20 Musalmans, three of them educated and the rest agriculturists, were reconverted to Hinduism by local Hindus. After the initiation ceremony was completed, slokas from Gita were recited and the new Hindus were taken to the local temple.

Temples for Untouchables

An esteemed correspondent says :-

"I believe temples are for the spiritual uplift of the untouchables. They may not remove untouchability directly as education does not but indirectly it does. A temple provides a clean place where godloving members can assemble and will keep them away from indulging in abuse of each other and may keep them away from the grogshop and the gambling adda (spot). We should not grudge the poor souls that."

Executive Committee

The Dalitodhar Sabha Delhi held a meeting in the

evening on 31st May to elect the Executive Committee and office bearers. Lala Gyan Chand remains President with Pandit Indra Vidyavachaspati as Secretary. Dr. Sukhdev is elected to be in charge of local work in Delhi. Swami Ramanand is elected Secretary to the Education Committee.

A Tip for

Lala Lajpat Rai writes from Paris to the "People."

"The one outstanding feature of the present political situation in France is the pact which the Socialists have made with the Radicals. The Radicals are in office but the Socialists are supporting them without taking any office. They have resolved not to accept any office. This is a tip for the Swarajists for what it is worth."

[The Liberators, 10 June, 1926]

The Story of Hindu-Muslim Unity

II.

(The Ist article appeared on 27.5.26)

to take up the thread of my story :-

The case against hundreds of Hindus was pending with regard to the Kartarpur murders and it was known as a fact that the majority of those charged with the offence were innocent people. During the pendency of that case Hindu Muslim Unity became an established fact at Delhi. Even the butchers said on 15th April 1919, when I went to ask them to open the slaughter house in order to end the hartal that they had forgotten Kattarpur on account of my solicitude for them. The question of getting the release of innocent victims was mooted but no Muslim leader stood up to support the motion. I might say plainly here that I did not join the movement and never urged our Musalman brethren to interfere in the matter.

Then came Moplah atrocitis against the Hindus, which are now admitted on all hands. Some prominent Hindu leaders became alarmed as it but I exhorted them not to show the least mistrust in our Muslim brethren. In the Ahmedabad Congress of December 1921 when the question of condemning the conduct of Moplahs came before the subjects committee, it was the Hindu leader, specially Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari of Salem, who put forward apologies for them and would not allow the Moplahs, as a whole, to be condemned. I was also one of those who believed that it was the British Officials who were misleading us

as regards the forcible conversion of Hindus by Moplas. Then came Bardoli, which took away all life out of the Congress movement and the victories of Mustapha Kemal Pasha against Greece and the treat of Loussaine set the Khilafat question at rest for ever. It was then that Multan and other places showed the weakness of disorganised Hindus and the strength of the Muslims who had taken advantage of the Khilafat movement to make their organization as strong as possible mainly at the expense of Hindus' weakness. It was all those phenomena which led Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya to make his memorable speech at Gaya exhorting the Hindus to make their organization strong and selfreliant round the nucleus of the existing Hindu Mahasabha. There can be no objection to the Hindu Sangathan Movement then which was so well described by Pandit Malviyaji at Patna and with which the elite of Muslim at leaders there showed their complete sympathy. The main objection of the Muslims is against the Shuddhi Movement.

It is believed that it is a new movement and therefore, ought to be condemned. The Muslim has been busy with his Tableegh with force, fraud and persuasion from the very time that he put his foot on the India soil. The Jesuits had also been using Force and fraud both in converting the South Indian Hindus to Christianity under the Poriuguese. The British conquest put a stop to all these activities and the Christian Missionary began to convert Hindus and Muslims alike. It was Rishi Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj, who put a stop to Christian conversion by advocating the reconversion of stray sheep to their old Arya Dharma. The services of Rishi Dayananda in this respect were acknowledged by the late Sir Syed Ahmad. And then in the later eighties of the 19th century of the Christian era Munshi Muhammad Umar was converted to the Vedic Churh, and the epithet, Alakhandhari, was added to his name. Since that time, for the last fifty years, the Aryasamaj has been reconverting or converting born Christians and

Muhammadans to the Vedic Church, and following the example of that Samaj even orthodox people at Jalandhar, Multan and other places began to welcome such converts with open arms. These conversions and reconversions had been going on for the last 50 years or so and no objection was taken to it. And why ? Because reason was not on the side of non-Hindus. Some of the Muslim Maulanas take exception to the word shuddhi, because it means that before a Muslim became an Arya he was considered to be impure. But what did Maulana Muhammad Ali mean by the creed of even a fallen Mohammedan Goonda begin better than Gandhiji except that Gandhiji can only be purified when with his belief in "There is no God but God", he also acknowledges Muhammad to be the prophet of God ? And what does a Christian mean by the baptism of a non-Christian but that by acknowledging a belief in the Trinity, a Hindu or Muslim becomes purified ? Compared with these Ceremonies, the Shuddhi by a Vedic Dharmi is a simple affair. Tue subject bathes and performs havan and then acknowledges not only to leave off beafeating but all kinds of flesh and to act according to the dictates of the Vedas. The Sikhs go further. The Muslim mulla when he offers the Kalema to a new convert also makes him eat beef so as to make him a staunch Muhammadan. The Sikh purifies the musalman with Pahul of Khanda and makes the new convert eat pork in order to make him a staunch Khalsa. The only difference is that whereas previously it was only the Aryas and the Sikhs who used to receive converts, at the present moment the most orthodox Sanatan Dharmi is as keen about taking non-Hindus into the Vedic church as any radical Arya or Sikh. Even that leader of orthodoxy Pt. Malviya is ready to invite every Non-Hindu in the folds of the Amrit of Satya Sanatan Dharma. I ask Muslim leaders to be reasonable. During the palmiest days of Hindu-Muslim Unity we never objected to your baptizing thousands of your Hindu brethren with the fire of Kalema and beef. Why should you then object to the Hindus giving an asylum to

those Muhammadans who come in search of the nectar of salvation ?

To this system of stray conversions there can be no objection, so the Muslim leaders say. Their objection seems to be aimed at the mass conversions of the Malkana Rajputs and others who began to be reclaimed by their several brotherhoods in the Agra division and other places in the beginning of 1923. But a separate article will be necessary to deal with this grave subject.

Shraddhanda Sanyasi.

They Must Assert

We congratulate Mr. Ambadkar of Bombay who presided over the fifth session of the Satara District Mahars' Conference which was held at Rahimatpur with 800 Mahars attending. Mahars are a very important part of the village organisation and are not an exception to the rule that the lot of the real servants of the community is to be downtrodden. The mentality which looks upon physical labour as something low and must, therefore, be eschewed by those who aspire to high intellectual attainments or even to leadership, is at the root of the condemnation and degration of Shudras and Atishudras or untouchables. It was as a protest against this mentality that Mr. Ambadkar asked his brethren to discard the hereditary village service vatans, which were the cause of their poverty, slavish mentality, educational backwardness, social deficiencies and political disabilities. He asked them to help themselves and we have repeatedly maintained that it is after all on their assertiveness that the rise of the untouchables to educate their children and we are glad a Mahar leader himself has given this advice with the addition that they must strive to bring their children up to the level of the so-called higher castes without cursing the more fortunate classes in the land. When a member or members of a higher caste gives or give this advice, there is room to question his or their credentials. Because the question is on the surface "How

can the untouchables educate their children ?" The illiterate parents cannot educate their children. The Mahars or other untouchable castes cannot maintain schools. Their children are under great disabilities in respect of attending public schools maintained even out of public funds. We hear of lectures and resolutions and circulars in favour of admitting untouchable children to the public schools. But difficult as it may be to believe, an untouchable boy could not get admission to an English Schools in this Imperial capital of India and had to appeal to the Municipality of Delhi.

It is not in one way that the members of higher castes obstruct the education of boys and girls of the depressed classes. The belly governs even the head and the economical resources in the hands of the caste Hindus are able to put a halter round the heads through the bellies of the members of untouchable classes. It is in view of this fact, that Mr. Ambadkar asks his brethren to discard the hereditary village service. Through the instrumentality of vatans, the leaders of the higher castes bring pressure to bear on the untouchables and persuade (?) them not to send their children to schools. Mr. Veerian who, only the other day, presided over the Madras Adi-Dravida conference exposed how even the Government circulars ordering that public school were open to all children irrespective of touchability or untouchability,. were frustrated by the leaders of caste Hindus in villages by means of their economic strength. But for this abuse of vatans Mr. Ambadkar would rely not have asked his brethren to throw up one of the avocations which bring them their livelihood. Only one of them could make this appeal which is not a light matter. Livelihood is the first reguistie. Even the sincerest worker in the cause of the uplift of the Depressed will not have the courage to make this appeal if he belong to a higher caste unless he be possessed of an alternative employment for them. Mr. Ambadkar does nor suffer from this disability. He can make and has made the appeal. In fact the abandonment of this avocation will not have to be altogether realised if only

the mahars show that they can discard it. If it be threatened that a particular mahar would be deprived of his vatan in case he insisted on getting his ward admitted to a public school, the mahar guardian should insist on his right and give up the vatan. If half a dozen mahars are able to show this determination, the opposition of the higher castes will be overcome. The services they render to the community are of an essential character and the higher castes cannot easily perform those services for themselves. For a time, however, the mahars must be able to hold on. Some hardships they will have to suffer. The advice to be ready to suffer such hardships can be given only by the leaders belonging to their own class.

Mr. Bhopatkar, who presided over the All-Maharashtra Chamar's Conference at Poona, maintained that it was their own assertiveness that would help them to secure their rights to use the public waterplaces. Even he advised them to educate their children. The pith of his advice, however, was that the untouchables must first rid themselves of their own consciousness before they can be rid of untouchability. They have to begin to behave as if their untouchability is removed and can go a great way if they present a united front. It is only because a very large number of people are servile and subservient that the few, who stand on their mere right, are condemned as rebels, agitators and so on. Those few, who ask other also to stand on their rights, are defamed as preachers of sedition and fomentors of unrest and authors of misery. Those few are generally able to outlive the malignment and repression, but their example. Those of the untouchables, who will storm the citadel of obscurantism and prejudice, will have to face the results for the time being. The leaders of every movement for progress have to face the results for the time being. The leaders of every movement for progress have to face suffering both physical and mental. The leaders of the untouchables must not except to be exceptions to this rule.

Whether it is the leaders or the rank and file, their

efforts are bound to depend on the economic circumstances. In this connection the Depressed classes are more fortunate than the so-called higher ones in one respect. The higher you go in the social strata, you find women to be only agents of spending. They earn in an inverse ratio to their status in the social cadre. Women of the Depressed classes are not so helpless in earning their maintenance as the women of the so-called high classes. Men can, under stress of circumstances, suffer being kept from earning without the families having to starve. The men must come forward to fight for the rights of all their brethren and be prepared to suffer. While this fight goes on, it is necessary that the help of publicity and of political power should be enlisted in their favour. The sympathisers belonging to the higher castes can do the former job. For the latter, it is necessary to have representatives of these classes on all deliberative local bodies and Legislative Chambers. Therefore we approve of the demand that is repeatedly made for special measures which will secure real and direct representation to these classes and was ably voiced by Mr. M.B. Kamble, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-Maharashtra Chamars' Conference. The fighters will have to face trials in courts of law and, therefore, it has to be demanded with the Satara District Mahars' Conference that in every Taluka there shall be at least one honorary magistrate belong to the untouchable classes. Every front has to be occupied by representatives and fighters of these classes. All the institutions through which the touchables consolidate their arbitrary position must be entered by the fighters of the untouchable classes.

While these breaches in the rampart of orthodoxy will be effected by a few zealots and adventurers, the march of the Depressed classes will depend on the strength, tenacity and will of the members of those classes in general. The strength will depend on the improvement in their economic conditions. Their tenacity will depend on their educational advance. Their will depend on the religious fervour that will grow in them or on the aggressive spirit which may

develop in them as the result of economist independence. If it be the former, their progressive march will be peaceful and through their calm suffering : if it be the latter, it may be marked by some rowdiness and unwilling suffering. In the former case, there will be no bitterness, in the latter, there will be at least traces of bitterness. If there will be bitterness, the responsibility will be entirely with the higher classes who, in their superciliousness, will oppose and obstruct the legitimate onward march of the Depressed classes. These classes cannot, on that account, give up their rights or their duties. To be able to assert these rights and to perform these duties, it is necessary that the children of these classes must be educated and all men and women must be so elevated as to enable them to come up to the level of the so-called higher classes. To achieve these ends is the joint duty of these classes and those members of the higher ones who realise the injustice of the present position. On inner consolidation alone will depend the general rise of and the place to be occupied in India as well as the world by the present Depressed classes of his unhappy country.

An Appeal to Baron Irwin

The voice of the Hindus is the voice of powerlessness. Therefore that voice, though born of rage, has to be expressed in the form of an appeal to the highest authority in the land. Coming fresh from the countryside of England where chivalry is not yet extirpated by snobbery or mamonworship, Baron Irwin has got his sense of justice, strength of conscientiousness and love of religious worship. To those qualities we address our appeal in connection with the Hindu temples of Bengal. The Government of Bengal covered their failure to protect life and property in Calcutta by a plea of insufficiency of "powers." Now the failure to protect the Hindu places of worship in the Presidency of Bengal is being covered by a pooh-poohing of the whole enormity in a most offensive manner. The manner is as

offensive as it is usual and therefore callous. The residents of a small locality or even a big one in the mofussil are easily stifled in India by local authorities and more easily by local authorities with the co-operation of half of the population. After stifling the local voice, the authorities can easily maintain that the whole agitation is set up by the press and is thus an extraneous manufacture. This patent device has been resorted to by the Government of Bengal. "In numerous cases" say they in their late communication on the subject "they have attracted far less attention in places where they have occurred than they have done in the press." What is the evidence to support the proposition? The Hindus residing in the villages or towns must have been terrorstricken; otherwise they would not have allowed the desecration or destruction of Hindus temples. Apparently they can have no means to express their resentment or sorrow except the publication of these wrongs in the press. It is a double wrong to allow people to be terrorstricken and then to take advantage of that condition for maintaining that they do not mind the wrongs. Does a wrong cease to be a wrong because the aggrieved party is too helpless to advertise it ? The communique discloses a mentality which answers the question in the affirmative. It becomes a triple wrong when instead of rewarding or helping the people who have refrained from committing any breaches of peace in the face of provocation, the local authorities offensively tell them to "be careful not to overestimate the significance of many of those incidents of "the destruction of images." This triple wrong is at present possible owing to the active alliance of the united Musalman community with the Government of Bengal simultaneously with the hopeless and innumerable divisions amongs Hindus, some of whose leaders are exploiting these very wrong to support their political opinions and party programmes.

Lord Lytton sang the rhyme of the "Rule of Law" and the "Rule of Claw." The state of East Bengal shows that there is neither Rule, in any case, not the Rule of Law in

that land. The only evidence of the "Rule of Law" is the threat that the editors, who dare to publish what the terrorstricken helpless people themselves cannot publish, will be dealt with according to law. With the promise of "the Rule of Law" Government have persuaded the people to give up their claws. Now they have neither their own claws nor the promised defence of "law" : they have, instead, only the scourge of law. These are the facts under the calm that is so frantically being manufactured. It is easy for the British authorities of Calcutta and Bengal to manufacture such a position and Hindus are far too weak to help themselves against the manufacture. But the helplessness of Hindus will not supply righteousness to an unjust action. If Baron Irwin intends to give effect to his sense of justice and to be true to his love of religion, let His Excellency take action in this case. His hesitation or indifference to act now will for ever disable him to enforce justice or to support religion.

ABSOLUTELY GROUNDLESS
Thakursahib's Telegram

In view of some sensational news being publish in certain papers, Swami Shraddhanandaji addressed a letter to the Thakursahib of Virpur Kathiawad, asking anthentic information about the reported mass conversions. The Thakursahib has very kindly and promptly wired the following reply :-

"Your letter sixth instant newspaper publication absolutely groundless letter follows - Thakursahib."

[The Liberators, 7 June, 1926]

Hindu Sanghtan

The Provincial and Chattisgarh Rajput Conference held at Dhamtari accepted the proposition of the President Thakur Udaivir Singh approving the Shuddhi and Sanghtan programme of the Hindu Mahasabha and promising co-operation.

The great patriot and educationist Babu Gopa Bandhu Das has, at the request of the Hindu Mahasabha, opened a rescuehome at Puri, a very important centre for pilgrimage, for widows and other women who go and get stranded at that place.

A Rescuchome, mainly devoted to the cause of the uplift of the Devadasi community, has for some years been working in Madras under the auspices of the Kalavnaulu Sabha. It is called "Hindu Yuvati Sharanalayam" and Yamini Purna Tilakamma is its moving Spirit.

Use of Public Wells

As the result of the president efforts of Pandit Gurudatt, the Hindus of Gharota Gurdaspur District have agreed to allow Mahasabha to draw water from the public wells. The Mahashas were originally domes and were brought into the fold of Vedic religion more than ten years ago but were not hitherto admitted to the public schools or allowed to use the public wells.

A School for Untouchables

The Abhoy Ashram of Comilla has been conducting a school of Mehtars (a class of untouchables). the present

attendance being 28 of whom 20 are Mehtars. Now a Bank has been started which will advance money to Mehtars at special concession rates of interest.

The Indian Agriculturist

In his address to the Conference of the Ministers and Directors for Agriculture belonging to the several provinces delivered on 7th June H. E. Baron Irwin said :-

The most important problem of all is the welfare of the Indian agriculturist. More than 71 percent of the population of India are entirely dependent for their livelihood on agriculture. The population of India, generally is rural, rather than urban. The common feature is the hamlet and the village and it is in rural life that both in the past and present India has found her most distinct medium of self-expression. The Indian agriculturist is accordingly the foundation upon which the whole economic prosperity of India rests and upon which the structure of her social and political future must in the main be built. No system of administration could be justified which did not aim at making an improvement in his standard of life and his equipment to take a proper share in her future its first and chief concern. One of the most insistent of the questions for exploration is whether the economic condition of the peasantry has improved pari pasu with the other great changes which have taken place in India during past years. The standard of life of the Indian peasant is he deciding factor, not only of his own rate of progress, but also of his contribution to the volume of the world's industrial demand.

Second String

Acharya P.C.Roy expressed himself in Bombay as follows :

"Let Khaddar come in by the front door and luxury weakness and vice will steal away by the back door.

"I know today that there are vast tracts in India which can yield but one crop a year and the inhabitants have to

live in idleness for nine months of the year. Three months' labour on impoverished soil and that too not his own can hardly keep a man going for the whole year. And due to years of famine, we allow them to drop lead like so many flies. Spinning is a second string to their bow. Even one anna a day would bring considerable relief to these men. The Mills and other industries are far too few to provide occupation to our teeming millions starving in forced idleness. The Charkha an the handloom can solve their problem by giving them occupation in their own village homes, for it is impossible for our rural population which constitutes 85 percent to find occupation in towns and the poor soil can badly give them sufficient sustenance. Even a rupee a month added to their slender income will procure them a pinch of salt and a teaspoonful of oil to their scanty meals. .... The cities must set the Khaddar fashion."

Shastris and Untouchables

On the occasion of the marriages of the sons of Lala Kamplapati, a special convention of about 200 pandits and Shastris was held to discuss the position and needs of the untouchable classes. At the end of a lengthy discussion, a unanimous resolution was passed to ask that the Hindus belonging to the depressed classes ought to be given the most sympathetic treatment and liberal facilities for their education and moral and material uplift.

Against Hindu Mahasabha

In a Conference of the Barbers of C.P. and Berar, it was resolved that they did not wish to have anything to do with the Hindu Mahasabha and that they accepted the programme of the Non-Brahmin movement.

Half of the whole In Cochin

The Depressed Classes in the Cochin State form half of the population which is one million. They have submitted a lengthy memorial to His Highness Maharaja of Cochin

enumerating their present hardships and asking for relief. One of the prayers is very significant and must put the caste Hindus of the South to shame. It is to the effect that the Cochin State should follow the Government of Madras and appoint an European official as "The protector of the Pudukotta State has been cited in support of the prayer. The main grievances enumerated are :-

1. That they have no land;
2. That the caste-Hindu officers defeat, by departmental action, the grants of Puduval lands when they are made;
3. That the children of Depressed Classes are often illtreated by caste-Hindus and have, therefore, to be denied, in fact, those few facilities which are provided in name.

The general economic distress and the antipathy of caste-Hindus are mentioned as the forces which frustrate whatever attempts they may themselves make for their own uplift.

Adi-Dravida Conference

The Tinnevelly District Adi-Dravida Conference will be held at Tuticorin on 20th June under the Presidency of Mr. R.Veerian M.L.C.

Executive Committee

A meeting of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha Delhi, was held on 16th June. After a protracted discussion it was resolved that Swami Ramanand be reinstated as the Secretary pending negotiations with the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha.

Interdining with Untouchables

On Friday 11th June an important function took place at Simla. The Kolis of Simla Hill States were given sacred thread in the Arya Samaj Mandir. Thereafter 200 persons sat down for dinner, amongst whom there were Brahmins, not belonging to Aryasamaj, sitting side by side with Kolis who are a class of Untouchables.

Shuddhi in Konkan

Shrijut Jadhav a Mahar, who had become a Christian, was reconverted to Hinduism by the Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha. Orthodox heridtary priests volunteered to conduct the ceremony and with their own hands applied tilak to his forehead.

The same Sabha reconverted a family of eight members, who were Brahmins before they were converted to Christianity some 15 years ago. The reclaimed family were allowed to enter the temple then and there and on the following day an "At home" was held to which were invited Hindus of all castes. The food was served by the girls of the reclaimed family.

Birds and Beasts

(Illustrated.)

We have received from the Chitra Shala Press, Poona, a Booklet containing the description of "Birds and Beasts" with illustrations in coloured plates. There are altogether fortyeight pictures besides the frontispiece. The book discloses the finished workmanship which is proverbially associated with the wellknown Chitra Shala printing works. Infants cannot have a better introduction to literacy and knowledge than this booklet which is brought out in two editions, one priced at Re.1/- and the other at As.-/12-.

The Story of Hindu-Muslim Unity
III.

The Mohammedan Goonda's attack on Hindu property, person and female chastity at Multan and other places was the direct result of Mian and other places was the direct result of Mian (now Sir) Fazl-i-Hussain's crooked policy of helping the aggrandisement of Muslims at the expense of Hindus in the Punjab. The direct responsibility rests with Sir Fazal-i-Hussain, but the Muslim nationalist Congressionist non-Cooperators of the Punjab by affixing their seal of approval on the Unpatriotic and Unjust Communal Activities

of that gentleman widened the breach to such an extent that no possibility of filling it up in the near future was visible. And, as I have already said , the Congress activities coming to an end on account of the Bardoli resolution and the force of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha's sword having settled the question of Khilafat, the erstwhile nationalist non-cooperators filled the list of the unemployed, and that was the exact period when Satan claimed them as his own.

The Malkana Shuddhi

Re-clamation-Not-Conversion.

The Muslim leaders charge me with having begun Mass Conversion of Muhammadan Rajputs. They say that this was the principal cause of disturbing the Hindu-Muslim Unity. I have already shown that when the reclamation of the Malkanas was decided upon, Hindu-Muslim Unity did not exist. But the question is whether the Malkanas were ever treated as Muhammadans. They were Hindus to all intents and purposes and were never absorbed by Muhammadanism. Hence it is a travesty of terms to call their reclamation by their several brotherhoods, by the name of conversion.

Let us see who the Malkanas were. After describing the Conversion of Rajputs to Muhammadanism by force or favour and describing their Hindu Customs, the Census of India Report for 1911 proceeds to discuss the position of the Malkans :- "Perhaps the most striking instance of all is that of the Malkanas. These are converted Hindus of various castes belonging to Agra and the adjoining districts, chiefly Mathura, Etah and Mainpuri. They are of Rajput, Jat or Bania descent. They are reluctant to describe themselves as Musalmans and give their original caste name and scarcely recognize the name Malkana. Their names are Hindu, they mostly worship in Hindu temples, they use the salutation 'Ram Ram,' they intermarry among themselves. On the other hand they sometimes frequent a mosque, practise circumcision and bury their dead .... They admit

that they are neither Hindus nor Muhammadans, but a mixture of both. Of late, as has been described in the paragraph on Araynism, some of them have definitely abjured Islam." (Census of India. Part I, page 142). In the paragraph on Aryaism (page 124) the Census Superintendent of 1911 says :- "There is a Society affiliated to the Aryasamaj which is known as the Rajput Shuddhi Sabha which has as its chief object the reconversion of Muhammadan Rajputs to Hinduism, via. the Aryasamaj. On a single day 370 such Rajputs were converted to Aryanism. The officiating priests were all Brahmans of the Aryasamaj. In three years (between 1907 and 1910) this society claims to have converted 1052 Muhammadan Rajputs."

The reconversion of the Malakanans to the Hindus Samaj came to a dead stop after that because the Aryasamaj could not induce their several brotherhoods to open interdining and marriage relations with them. But the Malkanas wen on petitioning the Rajput Mahasabha to take them back to its bosom and thus absorb them. The Malkanas continued to press for their reclamation till, early in 1922, in some of the district and Provincial Conferences of the U.P. the matter was discussed and resolutions passed for taking them in, after proper 'Prayashchit.' At the end of 1922, the Kshatriya Mahasabhha met at Agra and on the last day of the Conference (31st December 1922) passed a resolution approving of the taking back of 4½ lakhs of Neo-Muslim Rajputs within their brotherhood. The Rajput grandees departed to their several homes and no Hindu was stirred. But when the resolution appeared in Urdu Papers the Muhammadans at once began active work. The first protest meeting was held in 'Patti' village of the Lahore District, a report of which appeared in the daily 'Vakeel' of Amritsar in its issue of 17th January, 1923. A Deoband Maulvie was reported to have said that he would dash Hindu-Muslim Unity to pieces if the Hindus dared to tamper with the Malkana Rajputs' adherence to Islam. By the fourth week of that month dozens of Muslim preaches, belonging to

different Tabligh bodies were at work in the different Malkana villages of Agra, Mathura and Bharatpur Districts. By the beginning of February more than 50 Maulavies were at work and the Jaiyat Ulema-i-hind had appealed for one lakh of rupees in aid of this Mission.

It was then that the eyes of the Hindus were opened and for 13th of February a Conference of representatives of different Hindu organisation was called. There a Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha was organized and an appeal for funds went round after 20th February. The work of reclamation began on 25th February when the Malkanas of Rabina village (some 13 miles from Agra city) numbering 400 souls, were admitted to the brotherhood in the same village. And then village after village was taken back.

The first question is - who were the aggressors in this work of trying to absorb the Malkanas ? The census reports and the Agra Gazetteer acknowledged that they were Muslim in name only and followed all the religious rites and customs of Hindus. Let us see what Muslim Maulvies reported to Muslim papers about the attitude of Malkanas towards Islam. A few extracts will show that their confessions alone are sufficient to decide the issue.

1. Kunwar Md. Ashraf, B.A., of Aligarh wrote to 'Zamindar' (Muslim daily) of Lahore.

"The Muslim Rajput population of Mathura, Agra and their surroundings consists of about five to six lakhs of souls - ordinarily their names end in Singh and Narayana. In customs and conduct they are perfect Hindus. In customs and conduct they are perfect Hindus. They possess no Islamic quality. ******* Their ancestors became Muslims during the times of Ghouri, Khilji or Aurangzeb. *** Fro want of education, such is their condition that in some places there is no law of Nikah, no custom of circumcision. They put on "janeu (sacred thread), do not bury their dead, have tuft (Choti) on their heads. They worship all Hindu "deotas" and celebrate all Hind Festivals - and in spite of all this they continue to be called Muhammadans.

Intense ignorance prevails among these Malkanas. They know a little Hindi and can read this language only; they are not penniless but have sufficient means. Common Muhammadans are low class in their eyes, whom they look upon with contempt. ** They respect their ancestors like 'Prithvi Raj' and 'Ramchandra' etc.' and think their character worth imitation."

2. Mustafa Raza Qadri of Bareilly party wrote to "Vakil" (a Muhammadan daily) of Amritsar :-

"The heart has been lacerated by what has been ascertained of the condition of Musalman Rajputs. They are named like Hindus. They have "Choties" (tuft of hair) on their head. They do not give their vessels to others, nor use those of others."

3. Mian Dost Muhammad of Ahmadiya Building, Lahore, wrote to "Zamindar" of Lahore :-

"It appears that not only four and a half lakhs but several folds of Musalmans are very far from Islam and are standing at the door of Hindu religion." Maulvi Abdul Haq writes from Agra "that this race is called Malkanas. The Muhammadans of this part of the country thought them as contemptible as Shudras are considered in the Hindu Dharma. And this race has adopted Hindu customs to an extent that it now considers Muhammadans us contemptible. These Malkans are now being made victims by the Shuddhi Sabha. They are so much disgusted with Musalmans that they do not touch their vessels."

It is needless to multiply evidence out of confessions by Musalman preachers. The above is enough to show that the Malkanas were in fact Hindus both in faith and practice.

Why are they now talked of as Muhammadans ? It cannot be because of their following three meaningless Muslim ceremonies. What are the Musalman practices which these people follow ? Let us examine them impartially :-

1. A majority of the Malkanas bury their dead, although Musalman preachers admit that in several villages they cremate their dead bodies. Can a man be called a

Muhammadan simply by following the custom of burial ? The Christians bury their dead, the Hindu Sanyasis are not cremated but buried, Hindu children up to a certain age are buried. Do they become Musalmans thereby ? The Malkanas began the burial ceremony, probably because of the Hindus objecting to their dead bodies being taken to the Crematorium. Besides, Malkanas, in burying their dead, never call a Maulvi : they never allow 'Darud' (Muhammadan burial prayer) to be read over the grave. There is one strange custom observed by the Malkana Rajputs at the time of burying their dead. The relations dig the grave. They place the dead body in it and before closing it up with earth, they place a 'Pind' (oblation made of wheat flour) over the breast of the dead, thus giving proof of their still being Hindus.

2. As to 'Nikah' (Muhammadan form of marriage) it is also a meaningless ceremony with the Malkans who never marry within the prohibited degrees enjoined by the Hindu Shastras (religious books.) They marry within sub-castes allowed amongst the Hindus. All the ceremonies of a Hindus marriage are observed. The 'Kul Purohit' (family Priest) of their Hindu brotherhood officiates at the ceremony. After the marriage is complete, the Maulvi comes. The married couple sit within the 'Bivah Mandap' (marriage pavilion), the Maulvi reads the 'Nikah' and departs after getting his fee of 20 annas, pays one anna at the door to the Hindu Purohit (priest) as his tax and departs without being invited to the marriage feast. I asked reclaimed and unreclaimed Malkanas whether there had been any case of 'Tialq' (divorce) amongst them. They did not even understand the word nor did they know what 'Mahr' (a sum fixed in Muhammadan marriages for conjugal rights) meant.

3. 'Khatna' or circumcision has been given up by the majority of villages since the last six or seven years. But even where this ceremony is observed, it is meaningless. The fore-skin of the genital organ of the child is tied with

thread; but instead of cutting the foreskin (as is done by all pucca Musalmans), the tying thread is cut, and this concludes the ceremony.

Surely a man without observing 'Nimaz' or 'Roza' without any faith in the Prophet of Islam and without even knowing him, but on the contrary with unswerving belief in the transmigration of souls and following all the Hindu religious rites, ceremonies and customs, cannot be called a Mussalman merely because of following the three above mentioned customs in an altogether meaningless way.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

A Tip for - (from I.S.R.)

"In fact, even without taking office, an effective group pledged to the constructive programme, which need not necessarily be in a majority in the Councils, can impose its policy on the Ministers and on the bureaucracy. A strong opposition can sometimes direct policy more effectively than the same party in office."

LIBERATION FROM ALCOHOL

In two great continents, two great experiments are being worked, on the success of which depends the Liberation of this world from the grip of two octopuses. One is the experiment, going in the name of Bolshevism. of establishing an economic democracy in Russia. The other is the Prohibition Law in the United States of America. Both experiments are being condemned in all parts of the world. Today we shall concern ourselves with only the letter. It is often claimed that Indian is not so completely in the grips of alcohol as the western countries. The satistician may be able to support this claim. The statistician, however, is not always the reliable mirror he is superstitiously believed to be. There are entire communities in India addicted to drink. Workers in the field of improving the condition of Bhils and other aboriginal tribes, of Depressed classes and factory labourers, will be able to say how much their work is impeded

by the "alcohol" habit obtaining among these numerous classes. This fact is attracting the attention of those few amongst the leaders of the Depressed who have now begun to devote their time and energy to the betterment of their brethren. In almost every conference of the Adi-Andhras or Adi-Dravidas being held in the Madras Presidency, whether it be a provincial conference or a District conference, a resolution is adopted demanding that Prohibition be accepted as the goal of the Excise Policy of the Government and that local option be immediately introduced. In the Provincial Conference presided over by Mr;. Veerian M.L.C., a resolution was passed asking the Depressed classes in the Nilgiries to be included in scheme that is being tried there.

In India two rights are held inalienable and invulnerable. One is the right to drink and the other is the right to beg. These two rights the British Government never touch will a pair of tongs. Every voice that is raised in favour of either of these rights is heart with the greatest respect. The right to beg has given rise to many an interesting situation. The right to drink is not only maintained but also supported with all forces at the disposal of the State. When proposals for prohibition are made they are hooted out by different parties with different motives and in different ways. There are some who oppose them in the name of individual freedom. They say that the State has not the right or the duty of enforce virtue : they even assume the role of the moralist and succeed in enlisting the sympathy of sincere men by saying that enforced virtue is no virtue and, therefore, is rank enslavement. There are others who admit that it is all right to preach prohibition as an ideal but that it ought not to be insisted upon for actual enforcement. The largest number in the world being in favour of conventional life, sympathises and sides with these persons. There are still others who maintain that it is only the excessive drinking which is harmful and that there are a hundred and one good things which are harmful when carried to

excess; that the remedy lies in regulating drink traffic and in spreading education which will tell the people the evil effects of excessive drinking; that in a nutshell, prohibition is not the remedy, not the proper remedy and not the correct remedy. These persons do occasionally find eminent doctors and scientists to support them. The second class of objectors are in secret alliance with these objectors of the third class. Of course they would deny, in the proper conventional way, existence of such an alliance; and indeed, not evidence of a tangible character will be found to prove the alliance. All the same it exists.

It is in the face of all these classes of objectors that the friends of prohibition have to promote their cause. To them it is of the greatest importance to know how the experiment, that is being tried in the United States of America, is progressing. Publicists are not wanting who allege that it is all a humbug and that the Eighteenth Amendment is more honoured in its breach than in its observance. They put in all sorts of arguments, even insidious ones. Publicists, who are against alcoholic addiction, have to be always on the alert to prevent the mischief sought to be effected by the former lot of publicists. It is, with great interest, that we read the propaganda which is being carried on by the officials of the Salvation Army to counter the Anti-Prohibition propaganda.

"Park benches are emptied of their drunken derelicts and the men, who used to make their wives and children the victims of their thirst and besotted rage, have sobered up and returned to work to feed their families" maintains Evangelin Both, Commanders of the Salvation Army in the United States in an article published in the "Literary Digest". The full significance of the change will be best understood in India when attention is directed to the amount of violence that is produced by drink and to the privilege that attaches to the violence of the drunkard. The worst of this violence of the drunkard. The worst of this violence is that it does not come to the Court of Law or to the notice of the general

public because it is committed within the home, and that the victims are the nearest and dearest of the perpetrator of the violence. Punishment can keep the sober man under control but the drunken men is beyond its influence. The privilege which attaches to violence committed under the influence of liqour is evidenced by the proceedings in Courts of Law. Although the Indian Penal code specifically rules that alcohol is not an extenuating cirumstance unless it be forced by others, judges and magistrates are influenced by it. Only the other day a sessions judge in a district in Bombay Presidency, who convicted a young man of murder regretted he could not convict him of culpable homicide not amounting to murder on the ground of his having been intoxicated by strong drink. In Northern India another case went before a magistrate of a railway officer who was let off on a find because he was drunk at the time of the offence. We should not have seen learned advocates urging the fact of intoxication on the attention of Courts unless they knew that it was an argument of reasonable efficacy in favour of the accused. When all these facts are taken into consideration, then alone shall we have grasped the full significance of the statement of Evangeline C.Booth.

When cartloads of literature are everyday poured out to create an impression that the Eighteenth Amendment is a dead letter in U.S.A., it is refreshing to read the testimony of an experienced worker to the effect that it "is so firmly entrenched in public favour that it will never be repealed and that it can be enforced." If no experiment of the sort were made at all, the advocates of prohibition would not have minded it. But once the experiment is made, its failure is a matter of serious concern to them. A repeal of this law will put the clock back by a century. The strongest argument in favour of the repeal is that prohibition cannot be enforced. The two are thus interwined with each other. The testimony of this great worker heartens and gladdens those gallant warriors who are seeking to liberate a condemned world form the thralldom of the drinkdemon.

There are a good number of rich men who do indulge in drink. We know everyday how rich people defeat sections of the Indian Penal code. Where is the law which is not broken by the rich or the powerful ? After all, laws are made by human beings and can be cleverly defeated by human beings. Does anyone ask for a repeal of the Penal Code on that account ? The fad of the idle rich is a mere reaction. A reaction cannot have perpetual interest. Breaking the law for its own sake has a very transient charm. In course of time this fad will die out and those, who continue it, will only remain as the undesirables in Society, even as there are the thieves, swindlers, adulterers, murderers and blackmailers.

The Salvation Army has been working for the abolition of the Saloon for seventy years. The workers were most opposed by the drunkards of the lower classes. They were in some cas .s murdered. Commander Evangeline was herself knocked d ɔwn several times. She knows what she says when she attac̈ ; the illegal drink traffic and upholds prohibition. The very propaganda carried against it shows that it is both beneficial and working. There are occasions when propaganda works like the boomerang. If Prohibition would not work, why are the opponents wasting so much of their energy, time and money to how against it ? Why do they not let it alone ? If it be so unworkable, it will cease to work and the purpose of the opponents will be served without their making any efforts. In the meanwhile they can drink in the private dens. The very fact that so much pains are taken, so many brains are employed and so much money. expended to prove the unworkability of Prohibition, demonstrates the actuality to be substantially against them.

The surprise is not that the new law is not working perfectly : the surprise is that it is working so well in spite of the opposition of vested interests, sincere imbeciles and hired intellectuals. Every reform has been opposed before its inception and the opposition persists even afterwards. It is a usual argument that "because a new law has not

worked like magic, it is best to cast it aside and return to the original state of vice which, because of its lawfulness, prompted the enactment of that law." This argument cannot mislead those who care to look into it, because if it be acted upon, civilisation will always march backwards. "It is rather the duty of the citizen, the state and Government to find ways and means to make the law work out its unquestioned benefits to humanity." Not only can this duty be done but is also being done in fact. "Vast changes have come about." To repeal the law because some people break it will result in striking "a blow at every fireside and every industry."

The propaganda against the Volstead Law for prohibition is characterised by both the defects viz., omission and commission. The propagandist will quote the facts unfavourable to the law and suppress those which are favourable - a familiar game with unscrupulous publicists and vested interests. They even tell lies. If they can find park benches occupied, they will rush to assert that the occupants are drunken although in fact they be quite sober. They do not stop there, but even manufacture evidence. They supply facilities to a few persons to break the law and, themselves also in some cases, participate. And then they advertise these same breaches as evidence to prove that Prohibition will not work. It is like a group of fallen women seeking, by their own misconduct, to prove that chastity is unworkable or a group of sharpers that honesty is unworkable.

By themselves even these breaches and these attempts would not cause much harm. Drinking and flouting the Prohibition law are a fad and will die out. To quote the words of Commander Evangeline "If the idle rich persist in making sport of the Prohibition Law, the day may come when the boulevardiers, vastly in the minority will have to be salvaged out of their attractive places for secret drinking and, if possible, rescued by the Salvation Army just as the poor saloonvictim used to be." Such a change will apparently

require some time. The sober and progressive working classes, who are climbing upward to better things will have outstripped those who are unheeding and will have left far behind those who will take pleasure in sticking to the mire in which they are at present rolling. Society will have been turned upside down, with the advancing working classes seated where the so-called aristocrats appear today.

The insidious part of their propaganda is the appeal they are making to the love of freedom and equality inborn in every American. While in any conflict between the Rich and the Poor, between the plutocrats and workers, these propagandists will not flight for the rights of the latter, their freedom or their assertion of equality, they will ask them to rebel against inequality in the license to break the law of Prohibition, against the restriction of their freedom to get intoxicated and to wreck their homes and against the regulation of their right to send their earnings straight to the coffers of the brewery monopolist. That is the most dangerous part of the propaganda so richly financed, so ably conducted and so powerfully supported. The sober poor must be shown the mischief lurking under the apparent newly born solicitude of these propagandists and so-called champions of the poor. On them depends the success of this great experiment which is the hope of the future liberation of the world.

[The Liberators, 17 June, 1926]

CHAMARS' RIGHTS

We have said again and again that the assertion of their rights has to be effected by members of the so-called untouchable classes and the sympathetic members of the so-called higher classes can, in most cases, only help. The truth of our statement has been proved in the Lahore High Court by Justice Harrison, Khazan Chand and Garja Singh who must, all, be equally congratulated and complemented. The proceedings arose out of drawing water from a public well in the Khanna Town in the Ludhiana District. As usual, some people objected. The Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate virtually sided with the objectors and ordered the two gentlemen Khanjan Chand and Garja Singh to enter into personal recongnizances and to furnish security to keep the peace. Not frightened, they applied to the Lahore High Court for a revision of the D.M's order with the result that the order was quashed.

The Judgment of the learned judge, which will certainly be remembered for a good many years, is valuable not only for the final decision but also for the amount of material that has got incorporated in a High Court Judgment. A Mohamedan witness said that if a sweeper turned a Mohamedan there was no objection to his drawing water from the public well. Khazan Chand is a Hakim and even Brahmins take the medicine from him. Garja Singh is a fitter in a mill. These facts are important only to indicate the insincerity of those who put forward the dirty and insanitary avocations of the untouchables to defend their "touchmenotism"- from our point of view they are not at

all material. Even the fact that the majority object is not material. Even the fact that the majority of this town are in favour of the right of Chamars to draw water and only the minority object is not material and the learned judge himself says "it would not affect the question materially" even if the whole town were adverse. If this particular fact were material, the right to draw water from a public well would have to be denied in a town where a vociferous majority are against the poor fellows. "So long as these Chamars are doing a lawful act" holds Justice Harrison, "there can be no reason for putting them on security." This is the deciding factor and it is a pity that the District Magistrate exhibited grievous ignorance of this legal principle. We ask the local Governments of Punjab and Delhi to circulate this judgment of Lahore High Court to all Executive Officers for information and guidance.

We know what weighted with the D.M. We know it to be the same reasoning or fear as weighs with the executive authorities in connection with the right of Hindus to take out processions with music. We hope for better days. The preventive sections are so worded and the High Courts have been so chary in exercising their revisional jurisdiction in relation to them, that the interpretation of those sections has depended on the individual whims of Magistrates. Cases can be enumerated of virtual abrogation or suspension of Civil Court judgements by Magistrates with the aid of these sections. The Civil Courts cannot set aside these orders and cannot enforce their decrees in opposition to the Magistrates. In 6 Calcutta (Indian Law Reports,) a decision of the Calcutta High Court is reported in which this aspect has been dealt with. But the practice of the High Courts has not been uniform. The Magistrates all over defeating judgments of Civil Courts, high and low. Even at present, we are seeing the Privy Council judgment regarding the right to carry processions with music on public thoroughfares being in several places honoured with virtual abrogation by executive authorities in exercise of their powers under the preventive

sections of the Cri. P. Code. We, therefore, read with a good deal of hope the dictum of Mr. Justice Harrrison that "it would appear to be more reasonable to take proceedings against those who are expected to commit a breach of the peace and offer violence to lawabiding citizens." We trust this judgment settles the law once for all so far as the territory under Lahore High Court is concerned in all cases. We hope this judgment will help untouchables of other provinces also in the assertion of their legitimate rights. Mr. Justice Harrison has certainly performed his part creditably.

Gokhale's Living Memorial

The Servants of India Society has sustained a terrible loss by the fire which brought to ruin the Arya Bhushan Press and the Dnyan Prakash Press. These had been built up with great patience and foresight by Mr. Gokhale who knew the mutations of public support and desired to provide for the Society a constant source of income. Deprived of their mainstay, the members of the Society cannot but turn in their distress to their countrymen for that prompt and generous help in money which alone can put them back in their former position and enable them to resume their career of service to the public. I have already appealed to personal friends through private letters, and I wish by this means to reach the wider public who are interested in the Society and its work. Sympathy and help are flowing in from all sides, and our hearts spontaneous expressions of good-will received from those who are not in habitual agreement with us on public matters. As I said on another occasion, it seems as though the essential kindless of human nature, being so often forced out of its natural current by conflict of interests, were only waiting for a pretext to come back to its own channel.

We calculate that two lakhs of rupees would be required to enable us to make a fresh start. The sum is large, and there is depression all round. Still my colleagues and I have every confidence that in a few months' time we shall get

what we want. Our members will go round to various places, but they are not many and cannot be everywhere. We look to our Associates and sympathisers in all parts of the country for active help. We beg them to respond to this appeal as sough it had been made to them individually and in person. No amount is so small but it will be welcome; in fact small contributions, if sufficiently numerous, will give us the pleasing reflection that we are known and appreciated by a wide circle of those whom we seek to serve.

V.S. Srinivawssan,
President, S.I.S.

The Story of Hindu-Muslim Unity
IV

Let me give two more testimonials, given at the time when the reclamation business was in full swing at Agra, by renowned political leaders proving that the Malkanas were really Hindus.

(a) In the first week of March 1923 Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C.R.Das, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad met me at Agra. Maulana Azad admitted that the Hindus had as much right to convert Musalmans to Hinduism as the Muslims have to convert Hindus to Islam. But he and other pressed me to give up my efforts because my joining the movement stood in the way of National work. Mr. Das proposed the stopping of Shuddhi and Tabligh both for one year. I agreed on behalf of the Hindus, but the Maulana could not give any pledge on behalf of the Musalmans and thus that proposal fell through. After I left, some reclaimed and unreclaimed Malkanas paid a visit to the four leaders. In order to find out their real faith. Pandit Nehru asked them if they knew the Nabi (prophet of the Muslims.) The reply - "Ham ka janem saheb Nabi ko hot hai. What do we know who is Nabi?" The next question - "Do you know who the Pandavas were?" The reply came promptly - "Why not Sir?" Yudhisthira, Bheem, Arjuna, Nakul,

Sahdeo were the Pandavas who were favoured by Shri Krishna." This sealed the lips of all those Mullahs who used to charge the Shuddhi Sabha with using force in their work.

(b) In the third week of April Maulana Azad Sobhani with Babu Purushottamdas Tandon paid surprise visits to some of the Malkana villages and sent a lengthy statement to the Press which was published by all the principal dailies. A few extracts from the same will show the actual position of Malkanas.

"The first village we visited was Laraonda. The Malkanas from a large part of the population. They are mostly occupancy tenants and seemed to be fairly well off. The zemindar is a Hindu. These Malkanas had not till then performed the Shuddhi ceremony but were anxiously looking forward to it. They said that for years they had yearned to be taken back to the fold of their own community and had during the last for or five years made several written applications with that object. These Malkanas represent one of three types that we came across. They regard themselves entirely as Hindus, though they admit that during the Moghal reign their forbears were converted to Mohamedanism. They observe most of the Hindu customs, keep chotis (tufts of hair on the head) like the Hindus and their names are Hindus names. They do not dine with or take water from the hands Mohammedans and they do not admit the prevalence of any Islamic custom or practice, except that at the time of marriage they pay Re./ 1 As. 4 to the Kazi as his traditional due. They admit that till about ten years before they used to bury their dead, but even that custom, they say, has been given up.

The Mohamedan whom we examined in this village happened to be the brother of the local Kazi. His statement was that the Malkanas could not be regarded either as Hindus or as Mohamedans, for they observed practices pertaining to both religious. He mentioned three Mohamedan practices as being prevalent side by side with Hindu ceremoniabls, namely, the khatna (circumcision) the nikah (recitation by

the Kazi of the Islamic formula for marriage) and the dafan (the burial of the dead).

The Hindu witness stated that the Hindus regarded the Malkanas as Hindus. The Hindus dined with the Malkanas and there had always been social intercourse between them. Some years before, the practices of 'khatna' 'nikah' and 'dafan' were prevalent amongst the Malkanas, but these had been given up. The Malkanas worshipped the Hindu gods and also the Mian. Their Brahman priests were the same as those of other Hindus of the villages.

It will thus be seen that in the village while all were agreed about the prevalence of Hindu customs and practices amongst the Malkanas, there was some difference of opinion between the Hindu witness on the other as to the observance of certain Mahommedan practices. One thing, however, was clear, namely, that the Malkanas themselves were very anxious to be regarded as through-going Hindus and to be classed with them.

"The second village that we visited was Khandwai. The Malkanas of this village are divided into two parties one for Shuddhi and the other against it. Preparations were actually in progress at the time we reached the village, for the performance of the Shuddhi ceremony in respect of a large group belonging to the Shuddhi party. Here we examined two Malkanas, one belonging to each party, one Mohamedan and one Hindu. Amongst the Malkanas of this village 'khatna' 'nikah' and 'dafan' are prevalent along with Hindu customs. On marriage occasions the Brahman performs he Barothi ceremony and the Kazi reads the 'Nikah'. The dead body is buried as amongst Mohamedans but on the thirteenth day after death, the usual Hindu ceremonies are observed and gifts are made to Brahmans."

"Amongst some of those who were opposed to Shuddhi a few more Islamic practices were observed, such as going to the 'mosjed', saying the prayers and the 'kalma' and keeping a copy of the quran in their houses. But even

Malkanas of this type, refrain from dining with Mohamedans like the rest of their class."

"Broadly speaking all the Malkanas of the two villages we visited, have certain common Hindu characteristics, namely, the 'choti', Hindu customs and modes of life, and abstention from dining with and taking water touched by Mohamedans. And they all have Hindu names. The names of some of the Malkanas we examined are Ram Singh, Tulsi Ram, Bhoop Singh, Jangalia, Phool Singh, Rughubir and Charan Singh. The difference between the three types is in regard to the greater or less prevalence of certain Mohamedan customs and religious practices."

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The question of the Shuddhi of Malkanas has already created much unhealthy feeling in the country ....

"Since this demon receives much of its nourishment from the controversy that is raging round the Malkana question, we place the following recommendations for the consideration of the political leaders of the country and all those who are taking an interest one way or the other in the Shuddhi work :

First, we suggest that strenuous political work should be carried on at Agra by Hindu and Mahommedan Congress workers who enjoy the confidence of the people. In this manner by providing the two communities of Agra with a common platform of work, we will help in diverting their minds from the bitter topic which at present occupies them and pave the way for a better understanding.

Without casting any suspicion on the motives of any party, we earnestly entreat the protagonists of Hindu and Mohamedan religions who are now encamped in the district of Agra with the object of either promoting or opposing the Shuddhi movement, to stop their activities and leave

the Malkanas free to act as they choose. If the Malkanas are desirous of joining their Hindu 'biradari' and the latter are willing to take them in, this work of reclamation can very well be left in the hands of their own brethren. No objection can be taken to the local men giving advice where necessary, but there should be absolutely no spirit of Hindu Mohamedan antagonism or religious conversion in this purely social work.

The political leaders belonging to the two communities can, we are sure, do much to bring about an understanding between the 'moulvis' and Shuddhi 'pracharaks' on something like these lines.

Thirdly, we request will editors of newspapers to cease to publish articles and letters calculated to engender bad blood between the two communities.

A special session of the Congress, to consider the question of Council entry by the Swarajya party, met at Delhi and some 30 to 40 leaders were invited to deliberate about Hindu-Muslim unity. But the audience rose up to 150. In that Conference Maulana Azad Sobhani referred to his proposals which I at one accepted. All congratulated me and Maulvie Shabbir Ahmad promised to call off all Muslim Muballighs from Agra. But the very next day the Muslims backed out of their promise and said that they would not be responsible for the return of the Ahmadies and Qadianis and that the Hindus should call off their workers first because they were the aggressors. I had shown conclusively that the Muslim Maulvies were the aggressors and it was their duty to leave the scene of action first, but if they did not agree to that let both sides call off their workers at one and the same time. In spite of the efforts of Maulana Mahomed Ali and other Muslim leaders, the Maulanas did not agree and the whole movement for reconciliation fell to the ground.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Editorial Observations

Welcome

Mr. Sachidanand Sinha is again a free man after being five years in shackles of high office and we welcome him back to public life and public service. We are living in troubles times and the larger the number of responsible persons we have to guide the public, the better. Inspired by the singleminded patriotism of Maulive Mazruhi Haque, who has converted even Maulvie Mahomed Shafee Daudi, Behar appears, at present, destined to lead India. The strength of Behar will be only increased by the presence of Mr. Sinha amongst the people. It is a promising feature that a Musalman viz. Mr. Abdul Aziz is taking the lead in organising a public dinner to welcome him back to public life. We wish him long years of unswerving national service. We hope communal unity will spread from Behar and Mahatma Gandhi will come out for the sake of Mualvi Mazurhi Haque, Dr. Mahmood, etc.

Governors

We are inclined to guess that the new Viceroy has succeed in giving the Provincial Governors some new ideas about their responsibility. His Excellency Baron Irwin has been lucky in receiving the support of the "Morning Post" of London in this step. Sir Hugh Stephenson is now in Calcutta. Sir Malcolm Hailey, who was fiddling in Simla while Rawalpindi was burning, is in Lahore. Lord Lytton explained away his failure to maintain order in Calcutta and, then, started a sort of stifling campaign. As is usual both in Punjab and Delhi, the District Officers supported by Local Governments have been making frantic efforts to suppress news about the extent of the ravage caused in Rawalpini. They are apparently sorry that they have not Martial Law Powers. They are even lacking in the requisite sense of humour. How long can they suppress news? The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Congress Committee have exposed the whole case. Probably

these reports reached the Viceroy and Sir. Malcolm Hailey had to descend to the hot plains of Lahore. We may, hereafter, expect a real respect for justice, law and order at the hands of officials. Partisanship and pusillanimity are, we hope, no more to govern the policy of Local Governments and the conduct of District Officers.

Seats for the Depressed Classes

Replying to questions in the House of Commons, Earl Winterton, Under-Secretary of State for India, replied that it was probable that the Government of India would create additional seats in the Provincial Councils before the next election, for Labour and Depressed Classes Representatives in accordance with the recommendations of the Reforms Inquiry Committee. We hope the probability will be a certainty which will be announced at an early date. we are definite as to the necessity of representatives being elected by the general electorate with provision for reserving seats for the Depressed Class Members or by a Special electorate. This is a right long orderdue. We hope that he hopes raised by this answer will not be belied. More nominations will not be tolerated either by the Depressed Classes themselves or by lovers of democracy. Nominations are bound to be viewed with distrust. Besides, nominated members look up more to the District Officers than to the interests of the people. The representatives of the Depressed Classes must be elected. The leaders of the Depressed Classes all over India will do well to make their voice heard in unmistakable terms against nominations.

Infant Marriages

The prominence, which has been given to the law enacted by the Kolhapur State penalising marriages of girls under ten and boys under fourteen, is significant. It shows where we are still groping in spite of the British Rule for more than a hundred years. We are not surprised that girls below ten and boys below fourteen are married, because

in the year of Grace 1926 we read that there are a lot of who think that it is evil repute for a widow to allow hair to remain on her head. The judgment of Magistrate declaring that it is not, gives us no more gratification than the law enacted by the Kollhapur State. Even the British Government is not willing to raise the age of consent to sixteen in respect of intercourse out of wedlock and we find Hindu leaders of light and weight who agree with the British Government. We do also find eminent leaders not to understand that it is quite reasonable to fix one "age of consent" for marital relations and another for relations of unconventional intimacy. We know what little progress we have made. All the same we are glad our faces are firmly fixed in the right direction. When are the British Indian leaders going to take action in respect of infant marriages ?

Servants of India Society

We publish elsewhere the appeal issued by the Servants of India Society over the signature of its President Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Shastri, which we heartily support and earnestly commend to the attention of everyone with whom our voice counts. We are glad to find that the English weekly organ the "Servant of India" has again begun to be published. We are even more delighted to read of the employees of the Arya Bhushan Press having of their own accord forgone claims amounting to Rs. 8000 and having agreed to work a couple of hours more per day for several months. How many are the employers who are tied by such bonds of feeling with their employees? This spontaneous expression of their devotion to the cause, for which the Society stands, by paid servants is the best testimony of the worth and importance of Gokhale's services. We have no doubts that, even in these days of depression, the society will shortly get the amount it wants. A storm proves the strength of a tree. Gold welcomes the test of fire. This calamity itself will prove a godsend to the Servants of India Society. It has given it a new justification and a bigger Mission. The

shortlived disaster has secured to it what might otherwise have never come, viz., the unanimous recognition of its utility and necessity. May God grant it improved resources !

Aurangzeb's Coronation

We congratulate Hindus on having given the Mohamedans the consciousness of their duty to their illustrious dead. The Sind Provincial Khilafat Committee have asked the Central Khilafat Committee to arrange for the annual celebration of Aurangzebe's Coronation and of Mahomed Kasim's Conquest of Sindh. Aurangzeb was born an Indian and had no extraterritorial sympathies. He even went further and once again proved that Kabul made a permanent stay in Indian and did not look back on the lands he left even with a furtive glance. These two great warriors will make of musalmans firmer and more devoted Indians. Our congratulations both to Hindus and Musalmans of India. We eagerly await the opening of two new Funds. We hope some of the money will be used at Dohad where, to the best of our information, the great Emperor was born.

Adi Dravida Grievances

Rao Bahadur M.C. Raja M.L.C. presided over a meeting of about a thousand Adi Dradidas at a village called Jayankonda in Chadambaram District. The following principal grievances of the untouchables were placed before the meeting :-

1. The Reddies and caste Hindus who are landlords in that district do not allow the Adi Dravida men and women to wear neat dress and punish those who disobey their orders;
2. The Post Office and the Labour Office are inaccessible to Adi Dravida public;
3. Water is scarcely available to Adi Dravidas.

Adidravidas and Lands

Mr. R.V. Veerian M.L.C. said :-

"The difficulty is that, as rule, Karnams are the masters of the situation. The Board of Revenue has ordered them to give necessary particulars to intending applicants and to render all possible help. Unfortunately for the poor Adi Dravidas, such kind of help from the Karnams is conspicuous by its absence. As a rule the Board's order is honoured more in the breach than in observance. The reason is this. Most, if not all of the Karnams and the Maingars are caste Hindus and are not likely to be solicitous about the welfare of those whom they are accustomed to consider as mere outcasts. Not a day passes without my receiving complaints from some one part of the presidency or other, about the vagarises of these village officials. One of the chief methods of removing difficulties and disabilities to which the Depressed Classes are now subjected is to enable and encourage as many deserving Adi-Dravidas as possible to act as Karnams and village Munsiffs. Unless this is done on a large scale, all good intentions and special efforts of Government will be nullified in villages which are everywhere notoriously casteridden. .. In this matter, the initiative rests with the Government."

Untouchables in Baroda

A Conference of untouchables was held on 13th June at Bahmen Gam (Baroda State) under the Presidentship of Anand Priyaji of Baroda. It was unanimously resolved that a temple should be built at the place where untouchables can have religious instruction with touchables and can be mentally fortified against he attacks or attractions of other faiths. A temple has been partially constructed of which the total cost is estimated at Rs. 3000. The amount of Rs. 1000 has been so far subscribed and an appeal has been issued to Hindus in general and Aryas in particular for the balance of Rs. 2000.

Untouchables in Cambay

A well attended conference of the Depressed Classes of Cambay State was held on 20th June, Mr. Anand Priyji of Baroda presiding. Two important Resolutions were adopted. In one of them it was resolved by the members attending to abstain from alcoholic drinks and the other related to the building of a Mandir, in which all Hindus irrespective of caste could worship and meet, on the plot which has been gifted by the State for the purpose.

Untouchables and temple-entry

The Satyagraha of Kaniyars (Mysore) for temple-entry was the subject of interpolations in the Mysore Representative Assembly. Government replied that they were not hostile and did not issue any instructions to local officers to stop or suppress the movement. To the knowledge of Governmen , there was no persecution by local officers, but investigat on was promised to make. Government is sympathetic.

Mahars in Conference

A Conference of Mahars was held at Nagpur on 5th June under the Presidentship of Sjt. Bajeerao Jagnannath Sakhare. Mr. Katangale, M.L.C. was Chairman of the Reception Committee. I was attended by delegates from all parts of C.P. and Berar.

Chamars' Meeting in Bombay

To support the demand made by the All-Maharasthra Chamars' Conference held at Poona for special representation on the Bombay Legislative Council, a public meeting of Chamars and Dhors was held at Dharavi (Bombay Island) on 19th June 1926. The attendance exceeded 500. The meeting resolved that Mr. Kamble be nominated to the Council on behalf of these and other Depressed Classes.

Krishnagar and Untouchables

A public meeting was held at Krishnagar (Bengal) on 6th June under the presidentship of Babu Jyoti Prasad Chatterji. After the lectures were finished, Hari Sankirtan was performed. Then a scene followed which was enthusing. High Class Brahmins, Kayasthas etc. freely drank water touched by members of some sub-castes of the untouchables classes, who, in response, took in their palms the dust off the feet of the Brahmins.

Depressed Classes in Aligarh

Mr. Hanooman Prasad, who gave up his legal practice, is devoting his time to the cause of the Depressed Classes in Aligarh District. He has opened a Sweepers Girls' School which is attended by more than 30 girls and boys' Schools which are attended by 100 boys. Schools for girls as well as boys are opened at Dhakpura and Madrak. In Etah District also there are schools opened for boys and girls at Soron, Kasgunj and Tilsai. Like the Abhoy Ashram of Bengal, Mr. Hanooman Prasad has started two registered Societies for liberating the Depressed Classes from the fetters of perpetual indebtedness, one of which has a significant title "Valmiki Hitkarini Samiti."

19 Mala-Christians Re-converted

'Chavalipadu' is a small village in Kaikalur taluq, Kisna District. Nearly a decade ago some eight families of Malas of this village were converted to Christianity through the Canadian Baptist Mission. Although they were baptised, they were feeling a sort of social narrowness, particularly in regard to the marriage relations, etc., almost from the very inception. Many a time they thought of returning to their original state but were unable to find a way out of the present one. It was really a godsend to them when, the other day, one of our workers met them casually and told about the existence of an association through which not only they could be brought out from Christianity but restored

as well to their former position. It was not long before they sent their applications for "Shuddhi", in response to which, with one Panchama worker from Gudivada, I went to the place on the 11th June and re-claimed them all after due Vedic rites. In this connection Mr. Uppuluri Muttamraju, a brahmin landlord or the same village showed unusual enthusiasm and assisted us...

Guntur
Keshav Dev Gnany,
Secretary, Andhra-Aryan-Mission.

Shuddhi in North India

Through the efforts of the Dalit Uddhar Mandal, 275 sweepers, who were converted to Christianity, were reconverted to Hinduism during the month of May 1926. The reclamation of 100 Berars took place at Indaura (District Kangra) without any opposition being offered by Rajputs or Brahmins.
Shuddhi at Ludhiana.

On Sunday 13th June 1926 one Bachan Ram was reconverted to Vedic Dharma.

On Sunday 20th June 1926 a family of three, who were Mohamedans by birth, embraced Vedic Dharma and were respectively named Basanti Devi, Devi Dial and Lakshmi Devi. Sweetmeats distributed by them were accepted by all present. At night Basanti Devi was married to one Hari Ram of Khanna.

Entirely Baseless

The following is an excerpt from the report submitted by Mr. Armstrong Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to the Bengal Government :-

"On the 4th April, Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Deputy Mayor of Calcutta, personally complained to the Commissioner that the police and the military had that day looted a shop. The assistant Commissioner of the Detective Department

and others were immediately deputed to accompany Mr. Suhrawardy to the scene of the alleged occurrence . A full enquiry was held without delay and it was found that the charge was entirely baseless."

Gurukula Kangri

The Hon'ble Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.I.E., (law member of the Government of Madras) presiding over the ceremony of laying the foundationstone of Sri Narayana Gurukula at Fernhill on 13th June, said :-

"One of such educational experiments is the Gurukula at Hardwar, where, from the point of view of a Catholic Hinduism, an attempt is being made to revive the residential system which under other circumstances and in quite a different manner, has produced such notable results and has operated so profoundly as to influence European culture in the various Universities."

[The Liberators, 24 June, 1926]

Depressed Classes Conference

A communication dated 22.6.1926 states :-

"The Seventeenth Conference of the South India Depressed Classes Society is to be held on 27th June at Shivali, Tanjore District. K.B. Khalifulla Saheb M.A., B.L., M.L.C., has kindly consented to preside."

Temple at Amreli

The opening ceremony of the "Laxmi Narayan Temple" at Amreli (Kathiawar) was performed by the Subasaheb (Collector). This is the temple built at the expense of Seth Rameshwar Das Birla for the benefit of untouchables. The Subasaheb said that according to Hinduism, idol-worship was the first step to pure contemplation of the Absolute. It was a great thing that a shrine was consecrated at Amreli for the benefit of the untouchables against whom the doors of other temples are closed in defiance of the teaching of the Vedas. He made a touching appeal to the audience to lift up the barrier which separated Hindus from Hindus. This barrier was nothing better than rank prejudice and tyranny of the privileged classes. If they cared for their religion, they should be the first to lift up the barrier.

Nellore District Conference

At the Nellore District Conference, the following Resolution was passed :-

"This Conference is of opinion that the sin of untouchability is a blot on the Hindu religion and that in

order that the untouchability scandal may be removed, the District Congress Committee be requested to appoint a special Committee consisting of Sjts. Tikkavarapu Ramireddi, Tikkavarapu Venkatareddi, Vemor Lakshmiah, Bomma Seshuredi and others for taking up this portfolio and work up for the same."

Work among Untouchables

Swami vivekananda said to Babu Ansari Kumar Dutt in 1897:-

"And go to the untouchables, the cobblers, the sweepers and others of their kind and tell them, 'You are the soul of the nation and in you lies infinite energy which can revolutionise the world. Stand up shaking off the shackles and the whole world shall wonder at you.' Go and found schools among them and invest them with the sacred thread." - Prabuddha Bharata.

The Story of Hindu-Muslim Unity
V

It is needless to go through the story of subsequent Muslim attack on Hindu person, property and religion. The Delhi murders, arson and desecration of a Hindu temple brought Mahatma Gandhi at Delhi after the Bakrid of 1924. The Hindu sufferers were brought round to accept the arbitration of Mahatmaji. The Muhammdans backed out of it when, according to Hakim Ajmal Khan, they were promised by the local authorities that their men under arrest for murder and arson would be let off. Then came Amethi and Gulburga desecration to temples where Gandhiji sent his own trust worthy men to make enquiries and report. And to crown all came Kohat with a thunderbolt. Gandhiji was putting up at Maulana Md. Aly's. All intelligence of Kohat atrocities was scrupulously kept back from him. By the merest change he met me at the opening ceremony of Hindustan Times and asked me to go to him the next morning and read out to him all news from Urdu papers. I reached

next morning with all the papers. Gradually Maulanas Mahomed Aly, Hasrat Mohani and others joined. But I went on reading all the blood-curdling details and at the end read out extracts from Maulana Abdul Bary's "open letter to Musulmans" which proved that Mahatmaji's ukase against Swami Dayananda and the Aryasmajists appeared to be the result of Muslim misrepresentation which began long before the launching of the world-war in 1914.

After I left, came the report of Mr. Shuyeb Qureshi about Gulburga and of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru about Amethi, which showed too well the vandalism of Muslim rioters and the criminal silence of Muslim leaders. As a result Gandhiji went on 21 day's fast and at his instance a conference of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Paris & c. and even Englishmen was called which met from day to day under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru till resolutions for the future guidance of both the communities were unanimously passed. There appeared to be a lull but Mahatmaji had hardly broken his fast when news of bloodshed came again form Allahabad and Lucknow.

Next year, before the Bakrid of 1925, the Muslims of Sadar Delhi again applied for taking out cows for sacrifice through Pahari Dhiraj, principally inhabited by Hindus. The District Officer appointed a conciliation board of Hindu and Muslim Municipal Commissioners who came to a compromise. The muslim members promised to give up taking cows for slaughter through Pahari Dhiraj if a slaughter-house were allowed to be opened for three days of Bakrid in Bara Hindu, Rao and Hindus made a written application to the Muhammadans for giving up the route. The Hindus agreed and actually made a written application but the Muslims of Delhi again refused to abide by the compromise entered into by their select cityfathers and cows were taken through Pahariraj Bazar under the protection of the Police and the Military. The Muslim demand for stopping Hindu music before special muslim mosques at the time of congregational nimaj went increasing till it has culminated

in a demand for stopping all Hindu Music before all Mosques at all hours of the day and night. As regards sacrifice of cows on the occasion of the Bakr-i-Id festival the Hindus have gone on becoming more touchy on account of their gow-bhakti begin exploited by educated politicians. This has resulted in Muhammadans making a show of cow-slaughter in order to tease the Hindus. Then there is the shuddhi movement which has become an instrument of discord in the hands of the interested persons. The real significance of the movement I have already explained. All these are mere subtergues for fighting with each other. The real reason is more of a political nature than of a social or a religious nature. So much has already been written on this subject that without going into further details, I shall deal with the remedies which I feel to be effective.

First, as regards music before mosques. The reason given is that it disturbs the congregational prayers. Among Sufis and Vedantins and Bhaktas and devotinists, music is considered to have a soothing effect and hence aids contemplation. How then can the mind of a devout muslim be disturbed under its influence? It is not disturbed by the discordant noise of tramcars and motors and bullock-carts with iron loads, but Hindu music upsets the minds of the faithful. Strange as it may seem to non-muslims, a bigoted Muhammadan sees no inconsistency in it. The 17th and 18th verses of the 18th chapter of the Quran have been cited by Mr. Gaznavi and others for this general prohibition. And the present attitude of the educated - England-educated Muhammadans is itself based on the celebrated Fatwa of the Ajmere Maulanas which is based on a tradition. It is reported by Imam Raze that when the Muslim Prophet used to engage himself in Nimaz in the great Mosque of the Kaba, the idolaters (whose ancient house of idol worship was the same) used to go round the place whistling and making noise by joining palms of both hands in order to disturb the nimaz. But the Hindus never take musical procession to disturb anybody. They have their own religious

and social duties to discharge. But admitting for a moment that their intention is to disturb the Muslim - what does the Quran lay down for such an emergency ? The verse as translated by the Mullahs themselves says -

Kafirs and the Murtids went round whistling for disturbing prayers of the faithful. On the judgment, addressing them Allah will say - "Then taste you the tortures of hell for your infidelity."

The almighty father does not allow the Muhammadans to fall upon the Hindu Musical party and to stab and belabour them but to leave them for the justice of God. At every Hindu band and musical procession, let the devout Muslim read out the verse in question and their duty is duly discharged. Let the Hindus reap fruit of their own actions.

Secondly, as regards the sacrifice of cows the attitude of the Hindus has never appealed to me. I not think more than thirty thousand cows are slaughtered throughout India. And the Muslim religiously believes that the sacrifice of one cow can take seven momins to paradise. But not less than ten lakhs of cows and bullcoks are annually butchered in cantonments to supply flesh diet to the British Army, about 15 lakhs are slaughtered for the sake of the christian and muslim civil population and about 40 lakhs are slaughtered for foreign trade in hide and beef. Why is no Hindu disturbed at all this butchery ? The answer is that the Muslims make a provoking display of Qurbani and therefore Hindus become beside themselves. But the 25 lakhs of cows and bullocks are also openly taken to the slaughter-houses. Why are the Hindus not provoked by those processions of thousands of cows ? The Muslim, in his very ingonorance, (according to the Hindus) thinks that he is doing a meritorious religious act. Is it an occasion to be annoyed at the ignorant act of our brother ? Let the Hindus pray to God to lead our brother right and to convince him that the sacrifice of all passions and not that of blood and flesh is acceptable to the most high. Not hatred but love

and pity should be our guide towards them. I am certain that if this attitude is adopted, not only will the idea of teasing Hindus depart from the minds of our muslim brethren, but they will seriously think whether the sacrifice of the cow is at all necessary. Then as Mudim leaders have been urging all along and as M.Zafar Ali Khan has re-iterated now, this is an economic question altogether. One goat can not be purchased for less than Rs. 10 and it can only take one momin to heaven. But an average cow, which can be purchased for Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 can take seven. This economic reason is being advanced since the last 3 or 4 years and the only response which I have suggested is that all Hindus should give up flesh-eating altogether. Goats, etc., will then become cheap and the Muslims will have no reason to deprive their old people and their children of the more than mothers milk of the cows.

The Hindus ought to leave off being touchy and should look facts squarely in the face.

Thirdly, as regards Shuddhi the Muhammadans should adopt a reasonable attitude. The Arya Samajists have alone been reclaiming Muhammadnas and Christians to the Vedic Church. The orthodox of Hindus have also followed suit for the last three years and more. The Christian missionary does not complain and the Indian Christian Community does not deny its Indian Nationality. Why should the Muslim alone complain ! Let the Muslim give up casting his eyes towards the Muslim countries, let him preserve his religion intact and let him treat his Muslim brother who has been converted to Christianity as an Indian Nationalist, and he will find his own soul at rest. If a Hindu or even an Aryasamajist becomes a Christian or a Musalman, he does not cease to be a son of the motherland, in my eyes. Cannot then my Muslim brother bring himself round to my way of thinking? Let him bring himself round to the view that Hindu, Sikh, Arya, Brahmo, Jain, Parsi, Jew, Christian, Muslim - all are the children of one motherland. Keeping their

individual faith intact, can they not join as loving brothers in the service of the motherland?

And lastly, as regards communal representation; it is a mirage which will lead to never-ending sandy deserts, the more it is run after. The Muslim brethren are deluded in thinking that any amount of communal superiority gained through the favour of the bureaucracy can avail them in the long run. And as if in reply to their already deluded Moslem brethren, the Hindu Sabha and other Hindu organizations also follow suit. They are sure, in the long run, to rue the day when they began this bootless errand. I fear for the consequence. Already Political leaders like Dr. Sapru and Pandit Nehru have been taken off their feet and are proposing remedies which will prove worse than the worst of the evils.

My proposal is. Let the Hindu and the Muslim disinterested honest leaders meet separately in conclave and decide a modus operandi. Then let selected leaders from both sides meet together and in a round-table conference decide the ultimate scheme of rapprochement. But they should met with a determination that, by the grace of God, they would go about the country determined to wean the masses from the influence of interested parties, and not to be led by the mischief markers. - Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Welcome Addition

We have received five issues of the "Day-Light" a Weekly English journal edited by Mr. N.L. Bhatnagar at Meerut, of which the Annual Subscription is Rs.4. It aims at the solution of the two most difficult problems facing India viz. poverty and ignorance. We wish it every success.

We welcome the birth of the "Republic" a Weekly English Journal edited by Mr. G.P. Nair at Cawnpore. It will work for the establishment of a Fedral Republic in India. Interalia, it will strive to elevate the Depressed Classes and as such we welcome it with all our heart.

Music Before Mosques

The following views have been expressed by "Guardian"- a CHRISTIAN Journal of Calcutta :-

"Everyone had the right to pass along highways and on occasions, if his religious or social duties enjoined, accompanied by a vociferating band which provided entertainment for all communities and a sleepless night to citizens who has perversely retired to bed. Persons of all religions availed themselves of this right and to none was it denied. It is true that in the case of the Moselems, the occasions were social and not religious, such as weddings or on the occasion of a procession in honour of some great personage of their community. That Moslems have no inherent objection to music is demonstrated by the fact that most bandsmen in North India, with the possible exception of Bengal, are Moslems. Processions, whether religious or social, until recent times have passed mosques with bands in full blast and no objection has been raised. It is possible that exceptions were made in a few towns with sacred places of special repute. As far as we can discover, it is only in comparatively recognised practice in Bengal at least that the playing of music should cease, while passing mosques when congregational worship was being conducted, that is, on occasions of Moslem sacred days, or on Fridays. The Moslem in Bengal now demands that all music should stop before all mosques and at all times. His argument is based, so he avers, on the teaching of his religion and, in his zeal to make a case, insists that such has been the practice through all times."

Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K.C.S.I., ex-Advocate General of Madras :-

"Magistrates are too often in the habit of interdicting the exercise of legal rights on the ground of the likelihood of a breach of the peace. While recognising the powers of the Magistracy to prohibit the exercise even of a legal right when there is a danger of an infraction of the public peace, it was pointed out by Sir Charles Turner, C.J., that the

repetition of such orders is bound to create the impression that the authorities are powerless to protect persons in the enjoyment of their civil rights against the class from whom violence is apprechended. When this impression takes hold of the minds of large sections of the population, graver dangers are to be apprehended from refusing than from conceding protection to the legitimate enjoyment of civil rights."

Mr. Justice Harrison (Lahore High Court) :-

"It would appear to be more reasonable to take proceedings against those who are expected to commit a breach of the peace and offer violence to lawabiding citizens."

Sir P.S.Sivaswamy Aiyar, K.C.S.I. :-

"The Hindu feels also that owing to the bellicose disposition of the Mohamedan, he has been unduly favoured by the Government and that unless he can also stand up to defend his rights, the Mohamedan will continue to be aggressive and will always claim more than his due and succeed in getting it."

Music and Islam

"The Mokatan "published a communique form the Arab Legation stating that a serious fracas has taken place at Muna near Mecca, between Egyptian troops escorting the Mahmal and Nejdians' riffraff who attempted to prevent the Music of Egyptian bands. Ibu Saud sent his sons with small forces which failed to restore order. Egyptians fired on the crowd, killing 25. Ibu Sand them went to the scene and declared that 'Mahmal' was sacred and must not be attacked. The 'Mahmal' subsequently proceeded guarded by Nejdian troops. - Reuter.

A case two years ago in Bengal

In Magh 1331 a Sankirtan party, which used to pass early every morning that month, was, one day, pelted with brickbats from the Masjid resulting in a criminal case by the processionists against a Mohamedan Mukhtear and some

others. But ultimately the case was compromised on the accused expressing regret in writing.

Music before Mosques

Khan Bahadur Maulvie Mohiuddin Ahmad, Registrar, co-operative societies B. & O., who believes the aim of Hindu Sabha to be to root out Islam form India, says in his letter published in the "Musalman" :-

"In this music question, I am clearly of opinion that we are in the fault ..... we have no right whatever to ask the Hindus to stop music before the mosques ...... I hope you will be able to induce Mr. Gaznavi to cease agitation in this matter. All the information he is getting about 'music before mosques' is not true. I am a Bengali and I know; except in Dacca, I doubt whether anywhere in Bengal music is stopped regularly before mosques."

Hazrat Hosain Khan B.A., LL.B. :-

"Do the muslims stop music invariably before the mosques when they take out their own processions ? Does not a small section of their community set up music before mosque when any success is secured? Is it fair and just on the part of Mohamedans to fight with the Hindus because the latter do not stop music before their mosques? ..... Is it not the outcome of fanaticism which Islam, of all the religions in the world, has greatly deprecated ? .... The Muslims in India owe some duties to the other communities that inhabit the country. Do they stop music before temples, churches, Sanghats and synagogues, while taking out processions?....... If they were sincere in their demands, they ought to have stopped music before all places of worship. But their very conduct in this direction explains quite otherwise."

Islam and Pictures

"The Ashram" of Cairo reports a meeting where Mustapha Kemal Pasha said, in an address to the Turkish School of Fine Arts, that Islam discouraged pictures because

in those early days there was every probability of their being worshipped. Today muslims were too enlightened to be guilty of such absurdities. There was no reason why fine arts should not now be encouraged and developed.

Music before Mosques

The Indian Messenger, a Christian Journal of Calcutta, says:-

"The Governor's decision on this vexed question, so far as Calcutta is concerned, has at last been made public in the form of a communique and, as is usual in such cases, has given satisfaction to neither of the contending parties. Our own place of worship and those of our sister Churches are situated on public thoroughfares and our people when they assemble for congregational worship are victims to processional music quite as much as our muslim brethren, when they gather together in mosques for worship. In this matter, therefore, we might be presumed to have a bias in their favour. Nevertheless we confess that Hindus have not received that impartial justice which the strength of their case entitled them to expect. On the face of it, it appears that nothing can be more reasonable than to demand that all music should stop, when passing before a place of public worship, when public congregational worship is going on therein. But there is a world of difference between a mosque and, say, a Christian church. Christian churches are generally very limited in number and pubic worship in them is generally a weekly affair. Mosques are almost innumerable, many of them very small in size capable of accommodating mere handfuls of people, often situated in localities of predominantly Hindu population. Public worship in them is not merely a daily affair but is conducted five times a day for indefinite periods amounting altogether according to the claims of our muslim brethren, to 24 hours in the day. It seems, therefore, that there must either be restrictions imposed upon the construction of mosques or the people building or using them must be distinctly told that in

localities where the population is predominantly Hindu, they must submit to disturbance by music except on special occasions - say during Jumma prayers and on days of Id and other festivals. In this respect, Hindus have both right and prescription on their side. As matters stand, a handful of Mohamedans have only to build a Lilliputian mosque at Kalighat, a place of Hindu pilgrimage, in order to turn the entire socioreligious practice of the neighbourhood topsyturvy. This would create an intolerable situation and we don't see how it can be averted unless His Excellency's decision is supplemented by further restrictions and exceptions. The Nakhoda mosque on Chitpore Road has had consideration shown to it on the ground of its size and importance. Music shall stop before it at all times. In this respect it has been given a distinction not enjoyed even by Christian Churches. No wonder that people are saying that Government has been swayed more by Mohamedan truculence then by regard for its size and importance. In the meanwhile, the image of Raj Rajeshwari remains unimmersed, even though the organisers of the procession are prepared to abide by the terms of his Excellency's decision. We understand that the Police Commissioner has promised to grant a permit on the terms originally granted after the Bakr-Id is over. Another concession to muslim truculence. We wonder whether the government realises that in thus yielding to force and threat it is encouraging Mohamedans to further truculence and exasperating 'mild' Hindu to adopt a similar attitude and lending support to the contention of extremists that you cannot expect to get your legitimate demands granted, unless you make yourselves nasty or dangerous."

The Indian Social Reformer says :

"The steady pressure of British rule previous to the intrusion of communal considerations, kept the Indian communities from antagonism. When that rule began to differentiate between Hindu and Mohamedan and Anglo-Indian and Sikh, its foundations became loosened and its

force as a unifying agent began to relax. It has now to shape its course in constant fear of offending the susceptibilities of this or that community. It can no longer say as it could in the last century in the words of Oliver Cromwell. "The State takes no note of men's beliefs." It has become involved in a communal maze where it can please none and must offend all. It is not easy to suggest the means by which it can extricate itself from its present invidious position. But it must extricate itself somehow or other, for otherwise it would be compassing its own certain ruin."

"Justice" 19th June 1926 says :-

"In this allpervading gloom, there is one bright ray of hope, and that is that the authorities have begun to take serious notice of the everworseuing situation and press into force all the resources at their command in order to cope with it."

"We sincerely hope and trust that this newborn determination to tolerate the evil no longer will be strongly adhered to by the authorities. Hitherto the latter have been rather weak and wishywashy in their attitude towards the instigators and participants in communal riots, and the result has been to encourage the Goonda elements in both the communities to go ahead with their nefarious activities rather than to abstain from them. We have always condemned this policy and gladly congratulate the authorities, therefore, on giving it up in favour of a more sensible and salutary line of conduct."

Hindus to give way

"There is a feeling growing that Government expects the Hindu Community to give way whenever there is a dispute relating to religious observance." - Indian Social Reformer.

The Indian Review

The June Number of the "Indian Review" contains a

very important article on a late Prime Minister of Nepal and we recommend a perusal thereof to everybody. It has been jealously copyrighted and we have to admit that it is worth the jealousy.

Government and Communalism

Apparently stung by the article published in the "Manchester Guardian," the Government of Bengal, through their Chief Secretary Mr. Birby, have sent the following contradiction to that journal :-

"While not expressly stating the opinion that British members of public service in Bengal foment communal dissensions in order to prolong British Raj, your article indicates a suspicion that they do; I desire to most emphatically deny this suggestion, which casts a most unfair aspersion on the honesty of a dwindling number of British Magistrates and police efforts who have strained every nerve to maintain peace between the two communities and whose efforts have been highly appreciated by the people of Bengal. In the existing conditions it necessarily falls to the lot of British officers in India to make many decisions which are not acceptable to either the Hindu or the Mohammedan community. This fact and the fact of present dissensions being admittedly an hindrance to advance in self-Government are sufficient to account for suggestions being made in India such as those to which you have referred."

Earl Birkenhead :-

"They (Hindus and Musalmans) may rely absolutely upon the British Government without favour to give their help, whenever they are invoked, or whenever it may become necessary without invocation."

Shuddhi in Baroda

Tar Mahomed Khoja was converted to Hinduism in the Narayan Lalji Pitty Hall in Baroda on 20th June 1924 and was given the name Tribhowandas. At the same place

one Udesingh was reconverted and invested with the sacred thread.

Adi Dravida Jana Sabha

On 19th June a meeting of Adi Dravidas was held at ooregum under the Presidentship of Rev. D.Dravid. Mr. Shanmugham Murti asked all Adi Dravidas to sink subclass differences and form a united community. He pointed out that Adi Dravidas were yet inarticulate and were making no advancement. It was necessary for the community to found a journal to ventilate their manifold grievances and to educate their own folk. He exhorted everyone, who had the means, to purchase shares of the Limited Company that would conduct the "Deena Bandhu."

[The Liberators, 1 July, 1926]

DESHBANDHU ANNIVERSARY

"No homage to the illustrious memory of the late Deshbandhu Das could be more acceptable or appropriate on such an occasion than a cessation of internecine feuds, a cementing of intercommunal amityand a true renewal of enthusiasm and united endeavour in realising the great dream of Swaraj to which his life was consecrated in supreme and sacrificial devotion." These are the words addressed to her countrymen by the President of the Cawnpore Congress. No apter or happier words could be uttered on this occasion. According to the Hindu Calendar the Varsha Shraddha of Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das fell on 5th July 1926. Oh! the pity! even his only son passed away before that date. That event shows the full tragedy! We wait to see if at the time of the Shraddha which has had to be postponed to 11th instant, all his comrades combine to offer him the sacred water of love! That alone is what will satisfy the departed Soul.

No unreasoning loyalty to any particular step taken by him but unswerving loyalty to the great principle for which he lived and for which he died will please his soul. No hidebound adherence to a particular manifestation of it, but an adapting adherence to his spirit is the recognition his soul will value. Mrs. Naidu does not appear to be quite aware of this when, like the propagandist she ever is, she says Bengal Pact is a Provincial matter and has nothing to do with the All-India question. If it was not, why was it placed before the Cocanda Congress and why did Mrs. Naidu

employ all her eloquent force in support of it ? The fact is that it is no more provincial than were the Calcutta riots which concern even the "Morning Post" of London, or the Presidency Areas Bill which sought to quarantine Bengal, or the "no music before mosques" agitation of Haji A.K. Gaznavi. Dr. Kitchlew has proved our proposition. The statement does not surprise us coming from Mrs. Naidu who is Bengalee by birth. Bengal was glad when all provinces took up her cause against he Curzonian Partition of Bengal which was a strictly territorial and hence a Provincial affair. When so many of the Swarajists were spirited territorial and hence a Provincial affair. When so many of the Swarajists were spirited away in 1924, both Deshbandhu Das and Mr. B.C. Pal with emotion appealed to All-India leaders, "do not isolate Bengal." But when a few leaders desire it, they will isolate Bengal even in a matter which essentially is an all-India affair. When Gandhiji went to Bengal, the fire-eating orator at once declaimed against his alien influence in Bengal politics. Now Mrs. Naidu, who has got her home in South India and has been allowed to be president of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee these six years, comes forward to isolate Bengal in a matter which is essentially Indian. If this spirit is to prevail in the government of national affairs, it will take us deeper into the mire. May the noble spirit of the late Deshbandhu save us from such disaster! May the Shraddha ceremony wash away all separatist tendencies whether based on area or on idea!

Dalit Uddhar Sabha

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi, was held at the Sabha's office on 3-7-26.

Editorial Observations

Felicitations

With all our heart we felicitate the "People" on the completion of its first year. In India weekly Reviews

conducted in English are not yet popular. Difficult as every undertaking is in its first year, a weekly Review in India conducted in English is faced by specially embarrassing difficulties. A mother alone knows what the first year of a babe is . The heartness of our felicitations will, therefore, be appreciated by the Editor as well as the Editor in charge of the "People". We do not wish to presume to sit in judgment but with pleasure say with Lala Har Dayal "The People has raised Indian Journalism to a higher plane." We wish it long life and everincreasing capacity to serve.

Congratulations

The future lies with the Youth and any really unifying movement amongst the Youth is very encouraging and useful. We do, therefore, congratulate most heartily the League of Youth, Lahore, on the resolution which they unanimously adopted on 30th June "condemning those persons who incited the ignorant masses of this country to violence, requesting all patriotic Indians to create a strong public opinion against public notoriety, appealing to the Youth of the country to dissociate themselves from any programme of work which tends to deepen the gulf between Hindus and Mussalmans, urging upon them to use their personal influence in their daily lives to help to counteract the baneful activities of communal hatemongers and promote a real and lasting understanding between the two great communities that inhabit this country." If the Youth of Punjab do not stop with passing this resolution but go to practise it on every available occasion, a metamorphosis would be wrought in a few years- a metamorphosis that would last. An understanding will spring forth which will not founder at the first impact with a temporary conflict of interests. We are right glad to find in young men who have most of them only seen their province, better sense of proportion and greater spirit of toleration than in a man like Mr. Gaznavi who has seen Europe and travelled widely. We pray to God that this spirit of Youth may stick to their minds through

out their lives and turn out of them messengers of peace and authors of Swaraj!

Misrepresentation

The proverb says every cloud has its silverlining. While in Bengal Legal geniuses are starting every nerve to prove that music has stopped in the past before every mosque, we are finding voices in Punjab, U.P. and Behar, courageously coming forward to condemn the attempts of Mr. Gaznavi. In view of this courageous justness, it is but fair to show up the mispresentation of Hindus attitude towards cow-killing. In the first place, let it be made known to everyone concerned that Hindus are not at all desirous of taking the law into their own hands in connection with the sacrifice of or leading in procession of cows. They appeal to the authorities and are behind the authorities in enforcing law. And even in their appeal to authorities their demand is strictly limited viz,. that cows should not be led through quarters mainly populated by Hindus, that no unnecessary display be made of these cows and that he slaughter should be so worked as not to be unnecessarily offensive to them. For our part, we have asked Hindus not to be touchy even in respect of this limited demand. The demand for complete stoppage of cow-killing is made by certain persons or groups, we admit. That demand is quite a different thing altogether. It has nothing to do with Hindus qua Hindus. It is a demand made on the ground that cow's milk is necessary for all human beings and for children especially. In this demand, Parsees of Bombay join Hindus. But this is not a demand based on sentiment or religious belief. The restrictions imposed on the site of cow-killing have again nothing to do with Hindus as such. These restriction are a sanitary requirement. In a city even the use of one's own premises is restricted by Municipal Byelaws. The demand of Hindus qua Hindus is the very limited one enunciated above; and even for this, Hindus do not want to take the law into their own hands. Any violent or illegal interference with

Mussalmans does not receive the approval of the Hindus as a community.

Decencies of Public Life

In a pontific manner, the "New India" condemns the use of private correspondence to expose the views on a public question of a person who aspires to occupy a high office with which that question is inextricably connected and the scripture it cites as authority is Colonel Wedgwood's apology to Earl Winterton for having allowed a private letter to be published in a technical sense through sheer carelessness. We call out three cheers for this astral performance! But we, whose feet touch the terra ruma, cannot assimilate it. A personal grievance and a public institution are two cardinally different things for us mere mortals. When a person aspires to guide the working and destiny of a great public discussion. He would be failing to discharge his duty to the public who possesses evidence of those views expressed without reserve are quite a legitimate subject for public discussion. He would be failing to discharge his duty to the public who possesses evidence of those views and does not disclose it to the public. Of course, we are talking of public life on this earth. We do not peep into the world of Astral Beings! We compliment the "Forward" on the service our contemporary has rendered by exposing the public views contained in a private letter written by Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar to a friend of his.

Rights of Accused Persons

For some of our most important legal rights, we have to thank European litigants. One such case went up to the High Court of Bombay and has been decided in favour of the subject. One Mr. Evans was in Police custody as an undertrial prisoner and was denied the right of seeing his legal advisors. He had the means to take the matter up to the High Court with the result that his right was upheld. Mr. Justice Fawcett referred to the Privy Council decision

which laid down that on the arrest of an accused person no restrictions should be put in the way of his communicating with his legal advisor. The Criminal Procedure Code laid down that an accused person should not only be allowed to defence by a pleader when the proceedings commenced but should also be allowed access to his legal advisor before trial.

Anonymous Letter

There is nothing which bureaucrats condemn more wholeheartedly than anonymous letters. In this world, however, of deceit and chicanery, abuse of power and dread of results, an anonymous letter also has its place. A Sub-Inspector of Police and a Sub-Assistant Surgeon (both belonging to Surat District) combined with one more person and hushed up the murder of a woman by her lover in consideration of a bribe paid by the murderer's father. Subsequently an anonymous letter was addressed to the District Superintendent of Police, on the basis of which were made investigations that revealed the fact and brought about the conviction of the Sub-Inspector on the charge of forgery, fabricating a false report and using it as genuine. We are not concerned with the manifold developments in the course of which the case went up twice to the Bombay High Court. We are only concerned with the fact that the conviction has been upheld by the Bombay High Court. When any references to the bribetaking of Government servants are made, High officials come down with the dictum that such references must not be made if you want honest officers. Anonymous letters simply suffocate them. Here, however, is a concrete case in which a wrong was unearthed and some justice done by an anonymous letter.

Gaziabad

In our issue of 6th May we published the complaint of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi, against the Resolution of the Ghaziabad Municipal Committee to stop the monthly

grant of Rs. 50 to the School for the Depressed Classes conducted by the Sabha. The matter was sent up to the Commissioner of the Division, Mr. Walton. It must be said in fairness to him that in this case, he has justified the claim of the British Government to be trustees of the submerged. He wrote to the Municipality to state the reasons for stopping this grand to a School which was apparently doing good work. His letter proved an eye-opener to the otherwise unwilling-to-see President and led to the reconsideration of the Committee's resolution of 24th April. The grant of the school is now restored. All is well that ends well and we compliment Mr. Walton for his sense of justice.

And Delhi

From Ghaziabad a mere sub-divisional town, we turn mournfully to this Imperial Capital, Delhi. Only the other day, the Head Master of the Kabulik Gate School run at Municipal expense, refused to admit a chamar boy and the Dalit Uddhar Sabha had to fight out the cause. The Sabha addressed a letter to the Chief Commissioner requesting him to consider the claims of the Depressed Classes who number sixty thousand out of the permanent population of one hundred and fifty thousand, for representation on the Municipal Committee. In reply the Chief Commissioner sent a "cold douche." In the House of Commons, Earl Winterton states that steps are being taken to afford more seats on the Councils to the Depressed Classes : and here in Delhi, the head of the toy Government of this Province (as it is called) refuses to consider the claims of the Depressed Classes for representation even on the Municipal Committee. What a keen sense of discipline! What an appreciation of constitutional Reforms! What a justification of the self-appointed trustee's position! This mediaeval action of the Chief Commissioner is possible simply because there is no public life in Delhi. Can the Government of India not do for this area what public opinion does not exist to do ?

Services of the Untouchables

The Commissioner of the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency was presented with an address by the leaders of the Depressed Classes and admitted in his reply that it was their forefathers who fought for the East India Company against the Marathas in all the three Maratha Wars, and that their claims for special treatment deserved to be considered by the Government of India. Sir William Birdwood was told the same thing by a Deputation with Mr.Nekaljay at its head, that waited on H.E. the Commander-in-chief in Bombay. We wish to draw the attention of the Chief Commissioner Delhi and of the Government of India to the remarks spoken by the Commissioner of the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency.

Welcome

We are extremely glad to welcome the resuscitation of the "Hindu Missionary" of Bombay, which ceased publication two years ago. We have received the issue of July 1926. We are rather sorry to find that it is going to come out only once a month. Even so it is a commendable effort. When the late Mr. G.B. Vaidya, the pioneer worker in the reconversion field in the Bombay Presidency, started the "Hindu Missionary," it was a weekly organ. Mr. Vaidya started and conducted his work in far less favourable days than today. If in those days he conducted a weekly, how much easier and more necessary is it today to do so ? In principle it is now admitted on all hands even by the Sanatanists that conversion is the inherent right of every faith. We wish the present publishers of the "Hindu Missionary" will consider the publication of it per week. If, however, that be unfeasible, the size of the monthly publication must by far be increased. Unfortunately we have not been able to find out the yearly subscription. We wish it success.

Commendable Selection

The Modern Review has entered the second half of the 20th year of its life. Its importance and merits are admitted on all hands. It has preached consistently in favour of social reconstruction and Nationalism. Before it has actually completed twenty years, its editor has been invited to Geneva to study the constitution and work of the League of Nations. The selection is undoubtedly commendable. The Modern Review stands for independent journalism and for advanced thought. We wish Mr. Ramanand Chatterje a pleasant voyage, an instructive sojourn and a safe return.

Sad Loss

The sad death of Babu Govind Das of Benares, deprives Hindus of a renowned scholar and a studious exponent of the tenets of Hinduism and of Hindu philosophy. He was one of those whose labours brought the Central Hindu College into existence. He was alone one of the workers who made the Hindu University of Benares a reality. His book "Hinduism" is a remarkable monument and a reliable guide to those who wish to know about it.

Lala Dunichand's Appeal

Elsewhere we have published the frantic appeal of Lala Dunichand than whom nobody knows better our views on the Hindu Mahasabha's participation in Council Elections. But we have to tell him that the Congress as such has shown itself incapable to adjust its programme to the facts of the day except under the threat of rebellion. The History of these four years stares everybody in the face. To keep on shamming 'Non-co-operation' in the face of undeniable Hindu-Muslim disunion is a suicidal course. Hindus of Punjab at least cannot allow their vital interests to be jeopardised by the commitments of the Indian National Congress. What Lala Dunichand says of the Congress can also be said of the Hindu Mahasabha. The Indian National Congress has the love and respect of every Hindu. The invitation to the

Hindu Mahasabha to formulate a political creed is more a snare than a fair proposition. The Hindu Mahasabha does not want to ally itself with any political party but has, for the Indian National Congress. Much as we deplore Hindu Mahasabha involving itself in Council elections, we cannot help saying that the Congress is responsible for this deplorable position.

M.L.A. for the Depressed Classes

A meeting of the Depressed Classes was held at Madura on 25-6-1926 and adopted several resolutions, the most important of which was :- "Resolved to request His Excellency the Governor that Mr. R.Veerian M.L.C., Coimbatore, who has proved himself to be a zealous exponent and a staunch pleader of the cause of the Depressed Classes be renominated as a member in the next Madras Legislative Council or recommendation may kindly be made to appoint him a member in the Indian Legislative Assembly."

Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha was held at the residence of Swami Shraddhanand on 4th and 5th instant.

Shuddhi in Bombay Presidency

Near Belgaum (on the M.S.M.Ry.) the Laxmi Fair was held on 11th and 12 the June at Kadili, when a number of Mahar families, who had embraced Christianity, were taken back into the fold of Hinduism. The members of the Mahar Community welcomed them back and all dined together.

SHAMS

Alderman John Carter, the New Mayor of Oxford has expressed views which will shock conventional men and ephemeral politicians. Some of those views are extremely enlightening :-

"This is the age of Sham. No one who rubs shoulders

with the world of today, I think, will contest that. Sham is everywhere in our private as well as public life."

"A political spellbinder tells a few fluent lies to his troubled constituency.

"That sort of frankness, which says what it means and makes no attempts at pretence, is rapidly becoming a social rarity."

"But it is when one comes to the high places and to public life that one meets with the worst and most pernicious kinds of Sham. Politics and business stink with it."

"There is not so very much wrong with average human nature when you get down to rock bottom. The good is there. All that is wanted is a shock of the social system to bring the best to the surface."

"We must get the habit of plain speaking and open dealing. Away with Sham, hypocrisy and humbug. Let us be ourselves. The new interest in religion, which is sweeping the country, may put us on the right path."

A LESSON TO BE LEARNT

The great friend of the aborigines of India, Mr. A.V. Thakkar has contributed an illuminating article on "The Santals of Behar" to the "Servant of India" dated 17th June 1926. As every communication on the aborigines in India must show, this article shows how much has been done by Christian Missionaries and how little by the natural friends viz.., the Hindus. "It is a matter of shame and regret" observes Mr. Thakkar "that the advanced Indian communities have altogether neglected the welfare of these simple and ignorant people. They have been exploited by caste Hindus who want their money but not them. The Hindus would not accept their services as domestic servants, but would employ them as filed and day labourers, for their labour is cheap. From the apathy and illtreatment of the advanced Indian communities, one turns with admiration and gratitude to the benevolent activities of the Christian Missionaries among the Santals. The names of the late Rev. Skresford

and Rev. Bodding of the Santal Mission of Northern Churches will be long remembered by the Santals for their earnest and devoted work of uplift among them."

Who are these Santals and how many are they ? According to the last census they number over two million, one third of whom were returned as Hindus. "As animism and lower forms of Hinduism shade into each other, the returns are at best roughly approximate." In the opinion of a Missionary, "the number of Christian Santals at the present day is nearly 30000. The two most important and influential Missions working in the (Santal Parganas) District are the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches consisting of Norwegian and Danish Missionaries and the Church Missionary Society." Even Danish and Norwegian Missionaries take interest and pains to improve the lot of aborigines in India, but our Brahmins of old or even the Brahmins manufactured in the British Government's Universities cannot give a thought to or spare a moment of their time for them! And yet we complain about the proselytising activities of these Missionaries! How much easier would it be for Hindus to give them religion and a conciousness that they, too, are members of a large family? Let the Census Commissioner of Behar and Orissa speak:

"It is true that the Santals are adopting Hindus Customs to an increasing extent : many of them, for instance, now buy themselves new clothes at the time of the Durga Puja and the worship of Kali in Santal villages has become general, while a great deal of noise at Hindu festivals is supplied by the Santals. In Monghyr, the Santals often erect the emblem of Mahadev on the threshing floor and make offerings to it. The assimilation of Hindu customs has probably become more rapid, now that the Santals as a whole have ceased to migrate."

If anybody supposes that this process is brought about by workers on behalf of Hinduism, he will be making a grievous mistake. "The Santals have not reached such a stage as yet" in the words of Rev. Bodding - significant words

indeed. The Santals have not reached the stage of making political capital out of them. When that stage will be reached. Hindus will rush in. At present, there are no regular conversions from animism to Hinduism. What happens "is that Hinduism almost imperceptibly absorbs the aborigines, not by a conscious process of conversion but by providing an environment of customs and usages of which the aborigines slowly adapt themselves as a result of group contact between the Hindu and animist communities."

So near are they to Hinduism, so anxious to absorb Hinduism in the face of calculated negligence and continuous indifference of pucca and learned Hindus. Only recently we learned that the Mang-Garudies of Bombay Presidency were a community of animists neglected and occurred for and the Matunga Branch of the Hindu Mahasabha had begun to think of them only after a Parsi Publicist took up their cause in the Press of Bombay. We do not care for our own people until we find some Mahomedans or Christians or Pariss in the field of giving them a religion. Is it not natural for these pioneers to charge Hindu workers of antipathy towards these other communities? It is this criminal apathy which lends justification to the charge that Hindu Mahasabha is anti-this and anti-that. Even now has the consciousness of this duty towards these socalled animists, who are altogether sixteen million in the whole of India, been really brought home to the leaders of the Mahasabha? If it were, they had devoted their time to them and not involved themselves in council elections. It is a piece of good luck that the Behar Provincial Hindu Sabha has set its face against such commitments and is restricting itself to its genuine obligations of social reconstruction of Hindu Community. This negative merit is not the be-all and end-all. The Behar Provincial Hindu Sabha must take active and positive steps to address themselves to the task of improving the conditions of the aborigines in the Province.

From Ramanand to Ram Tirtha

G.A. Natesan and Co. of Madras, have published a book with the title "Ramanand to Ram Tirtha." It includes sketches of Ramanand and Kabir Nanak and the Sikh Gurus, of Ravi Das the Chamar Saint, Mira Bai the ascetic queen of Chitor, Vallabhacharya, Tulsi Das, Virajanand, Dayanand the founder of the Arya Samaj and Swami Ram Tirth. The reformation in Hindu beliefs and ritual effected by these great saints of India may be fairly compared with the great Protestant movement of Europe. But the Indian reformers like Kabir and Mira Bai were in no sense militant theologians like Luther and Zwingil. They did not attempt to overturn existing religious institutions nor overthrow the established government. The preachings of the great Vaishnavite reformers, the Ramanandis and the Ravidasis, were mostly directed to the freeing of religion from caste superstition. The Ravidasis of whom Mira Bai herself might be counted one, and who take their name from their teacher Ravidas, have a large number of adheretns among the Chamars of Hindustan : and they form an interesting example of the reformed Vaishnavism extending even to the menial classes. These saints are the sources from which the different ascetic orders of Northern India take their origin. The influence of the Kabir Panthis and the Ramanandis is felt even at the present time. Some of the rapturous songs and hymns of the Vernaculars are to be found in the ecstatic utterances of Mira Bai, of Nanak and Kabir. The sketches contain ample quotations from these hymns as well as from the sayings and teachings of Dayananda and Ram Tirth. Ravi Das was the Chamar saint and of him we intend to write in greater detail on a later date. The whole of India has produced a number of Saints belonging to what are called the untouchables classes : Chokhamela, Rodhidas and Nanda are the names that are on the trip of every tongue in Central and Southern India. Certainly the community which can give such personages to the world cannot be destined for ever to scramble in mud. It has a bright future and with it India, if only Indians work with that faith.

[The Liberators, 8 July, 1926]

Untouchables and Prohibition

In the course of his presidential address delivered at Tuticorin, Mr. R.Veerian, M.L.C. said :-

"The practice of liquor drinking has neither the sanction of religion nor has it the authority of the medical world. That drink is not sanctioned by religion, as far as the Hindus are concerned is proved by illustrations from Hinduism which condemns Surapanam as one of the five most horrible sins known as panchmahapatakas. The medical world has raised a cry against the practice of liquor drinking. The 'Dryness' of America, in this respect, is due more to legislation than to the works of the Socialists and Evangelists. Liquor drinking has already sapped the manhood of the land and undermined the morality of a great many families.

"It will be very interesting to note the remarks I made during the last session of the Madras Legislative Council when the Excise policy was discussed. I pointed out that it would be impossible to overcome temptations by ordinary human beings so long as the toddy arrack and beer taverns are located in the midst or near the localities of the submerged and labouring classes of people. Even sages have failed to overcome temptations and there are historic instances about it. Labourers do not require alcohol. Convicts do very hard work in jails; they are not bad in jails without it. No alcohol is supplied and the convicts who are accustomed to drink are not supplied with any drink and when they are released, they come out more cheerful and healthy. This is purely a habit, a bad habit which brings misery and poverty

to the whole family and to the country at large; this evil habit can easily be removed by the victims, provided they realise the danger and other miseries the drink habit brings. We must carry on systematic temperance propaganda in our communal gatherings by means of Bhajan parties, lantern lectures and so on. But all our efforts will be useless unless and until government make a bold and definite declaration that Prohibition is their goal. Of course this declaration will be judged by us in actual practice and not in mere liphomage to the principle of Prohibition."

Education the panacea

Mr. Veerian dwelt on the need of education in the following words :-

"Education is universally recognised as the panacea for all ills from which any society suffers. We should do our best to impart education to as many boys and girls of our community as possible. As there is already a hostel run by the Government at Madras for Adi-Dravida boys, there should be a hostel for girls on the same lines. Without progress in the field of education our advancement will be very slow indeed. We need not confine our attention to merely the education of our children, but also we should endeavour to introduce on a wide scale a scheme of adult education, so that illiteracy of this generation will be eliminated now and ever. I have already drawn the attention of the Government by means of interpellations regarding adult education, and they said in reply that they could look into the matter, and our frequent references in the matter will bring the desired effect. To sum up our position, the fact is that Government is sympathetically inclined towards us and a growing number of caste-Hindus is awakened to a sense of duty and fairplay to-wards the uplift of the submerged classes, as the voice of dumb millions is the voice of God.

It is now up to us to catch time by the forelock and try to secure our rights and privileges. When all is said

and done self-help is the best help and God helps those who help themselves. I wish you all success. Remember Poet Tagore's great message : "Let us not disown the poor nor bend our knees before insolent might."

British Bias in favour of Muslims.

Lord Olivier, ex-Secretary of State for India, says in a letter published in the "Times" :-

"No one with any close acquaintance with Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British Officialdom in favour of the Muslim Community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy, but more largely as a makeweight against Hindu Nationalism." ...."Independently of this and its evil effects, there has been vacillation in the action of the police and in police court practice, sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other, encouraging each side to take liberties."

The Truth about South Africa

In the wars between the Dutch and English, the possession of 'Cape Colony' (as it was called) again and again changed hands. It was only at the close of the Wars against Napoleon, in the final settlement that was made between 1815-1820 that Cape Colony became a British Possession. The Dutch obtained Java and the East Indies. The British obtained Ceylon and Cape Colony. They obtained also what was regarded at the time an insignificant possession, the swampy Island of Singapore. But this, in the long run has proved equal in value as a link of communication with the other two.

Even after the settlement of Cape Colony as a British Possession under the Crown, the internecine warfare between the white shelters and the Bantus form the North continued. Large hosts of them penetrated to the fertile lands in the South East corner of South Africa, which were lying vacant, and these Bantus were allowed to settle there under their own tribal kings. These settlements in a semi-independent

state, still exist today. The Bantus have shown wonderful self-governing powers.

WILL HE STOOP TO EXERCISE

"Lord Birken head had the greatest anxiety at repeated communal struggles" in India, says the Reuter. We have already said that this is the legacy inherited by Baron Irwin. Now we ask, will Baron Irwin stoop to bring about intercommunal amity in India? The India his predecessor came to face is totally different from the India Baron Irwin has to face. According to the changing circumstances, the policy has also to be changed. And it is only the fresh mind that can adopt a changed policy. It is not necessary to condemn any individual before changing a policy. It is not as if new policies have not been adopted by fresh Governors or Ministers. The policy of Balfour Government in dealing with South Africa was given up by the Campbell Bannerman Government. The policy of Lloyd George Cabinet in dealing with Turkeyi was given up by Bonar Law Cabinet. Here in India the policy followed by Crewe and Hardinge was considerably, in some respects cardinally different from the one followed by Morley and Minto. In recent times, we have seen how the present Governor of Bombay Sir Leslie Wilson has changed the tone of administration in the Bombay Presidency. Different minds or different circumstances require different policies. A change in policy does not at all mean a censure of the earlier policy. This perambulation is necessitated by the insinuations that are indulged in by those who stand for "Nochange" and erect a barrier of false prestige in the way of legitimate adjustments.

Nobody in the world is faultless. Human nature has potentialities for virtue as well as for vice, for merit as well as for demerit, for good as for evil. If any class of persons, as a class, lay claim to infallibility, they invite a contradiction equally emphatic and wholesale. It is because the members of the Civil Services in India have claimed infallibility universally, that they all come in for condemnation

wholesale. If only it be admitted that there are members of those Services who are capable of wrong, it will also be admitted that there are quite a large of number of decent members in those Services. After all, when we know that Englishmen (we do not say all) are capable of doing wrong in England, it is not rational to claim that in India they must be invariably above wrong. Conceding for the sake of argument that the Indian climate has such a sanctifying effect on the Englishman's mind, a vitiation of that climate must have its reaction on his mind. We do quite appreciate Mr. Birley's rejoinder to the "Manchester Guardian"; we do not want it to be declared that the British Magistrates in India are angels in the pay of "Satan." Indeed our very cry in connection with them is based on the assumption that they are angels who can serve God, if He will assert Himself. But occasionally He likes to appear dethroned. There are aberrations in this world. The friendship of England and Turkey is known and even now asserted to be traditional. And still there was, as we all know an aberration from it. After all, we are all of us human beings. The best way to keep virtuous is always to remember that a men is liable to be vicious.

The man who made the saying "when thieves fall out, honest men stand some chance of coming by their own" was a Briton. The man, who defined "Bunk" as a political oration, is an American. The Alderman who said "A political spellbinder tells a few fluent lies to his troubled constituency" and "It is when one comes to the high places.. . that one meets with the worst and the most pernicious kinds of Sham," is not only a Briton but is the present mayor of Oxford. The same gentleman has said that "The new interest in religion, which is sweeping the country, may put us on the right path." It is because Baron Irwin has this interest in religion that we ask him whether he will stoop to bring about intercommunal amity in India.

As we do not ask any particular declaration about members of the Services, Baron Irwin will not insist on

the leaders of the people to appear in "sack and ashes." It is the people in general of India whose good he has to look to. Never can there be unanimity and it is neither correct nor desirable to expect it. Baron Irwin has the eminent advantage of being unembarrassed by commitments. He can see that the current of public opinion is to use the available machinery and opportunities. If His Excellency can take a graceful step and will stoop to win, success will be his. The whole country is sick of the communal quarrels. But there is the question of prestige, of wounds and scars and worst of all official partiality. The combined effect of all the existing circumstances is that the extremists are everywhere predominant while restraining influences are forced to recede into the back-ground. A Christian Journal of Calcutta has put our position in the following words:

"We wonder whether the Government realises that it is .... lending support to the contention of extremists that you cannot expect to get your legitimate demands granted unless you make yourselves nasty or dangerous."

Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mohiuddin Ahmad holds the position of "Registrar, Cooperative Societies" in Behar. He says :-

"The Mussalmans by this insane opposition to music have been immensely strengthening the hands of the most reactionary section of the Hindus. This trivial matter is bringing the reactionaries of every other section of Indian population ..... under one militant banner."

Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyar has held a responsible position in the Madras Presidency and also in the International world. He says:-

"The Hindu feels that owing to the bellicose disposition of the Mahomedan, he has been unduly favoured by the Government and that unless he can also stand up to defend his rights, the Mahomedan will continue to be aggressive."

The Maharaja of Burdwan who was a member of the Government of Bengal and has since been appointed to a responsible office outside India, as well as the exminister

of Bengal Haji A.K. Gaznavi have agreed on one point, though on every other point they have disagreed, that the present impasse has been created by militant Musalmans and neo-militant Hindus.

The point we seek to make is that a combination of circumstances has strengthened the hands of the extremists in all camps and weakened the hold of the restraining elements. Even amongst the officials the righteous members appear to be helpless. Somehow it so happens that honest men become helpless and have simply to look on until "thieves fall out" amongst themselves. It is for Baron Irwin to mobilise the honest men, the restraining hands, the lovers of peace and justice and to isolate mischiefmakers, paralyse the extremists, disable the unjust as well as those who believe in a "little" bloodletting. Thus only can be frightful fantom of communal animosity in India be exorcised. Will H.E. Baron Irwin stoop to exorcise it? This is an evil spirit which must be exorcised by him during the very first year i.e., the first contest. If it be not exorcised in his firs year, it will be assured an unchecked career of five years. We do not desire to exaggerate things; but no deepblack picture will be falsified or be an overdrawing if this monster rules unchained for another period of five years. Good does come out of evil, says a poet and it must God if exists. Whether it will come after a long period of agony or will come shortly is for the present Viceroy to determine. We entertain the best of hopes, because a religious man is bound to try to see His will 'done on earth as it is in Heaven.'

Earl Birkenhead is reported to have said that when they are invoked, or whenever it may become necessary without invocation, the British Government may be relied upon to give their help. There can be no doubt that it has now become necessary. The retirement of Gandhiji from the field is the best demonstration of the necessity. The British Government always claim to be protector of the voiceless millions. The greatest number of sufferers belong to these classes. Look at it from any point of view, it is as clear

as crystal that the uncommitted and unembarrassed head of the Government of India must and nobody else can attack this problem. If he makes the least effort to bring the best minds of the two communities together, his efforts will be crowned with success. He must not stand aside himself. The failure of Lord Lytton need not frighten Baron Irwin. Whether you like it or not, whether it is right or wrong, Hindus have absolutely no faith in Lord Lytton. Far be it from us to question his bona fields. He is sincerely vexed with Hindus and is sincere in honouring his promises. His failure is not a factor which need weigh with the Viceroy. Let him go about the business with good will and he will receive unexpected help. Mountains of obstacles will disappear, valleys created by mistrust will be filled up. It will stand permanently to Baron Irwin's credit that he built a bridge over a stormy channel and he will have more than justified his descent from his grandfather.

EDITORIAL OBSERVATIONS
Of Course Not

We have it on the authority of Earl Birkenhead as well as of "Reuter" that His Excellency Lord Lytton is not going to resign. Of course not. What rational Indian expected him to do so ? Those who did are ditchers or forward. And why should he? He is an honest man. "Too honest for politics" allege some politicians. We do not agree with politicians, because in our opinion nobody can be too honest. He is occasionally misled and sticks to promises made even under undue influence. It does not, therefore, mean that of all persons he should be asked to cut his tenure short. There is one question, however, which requires to be considered. Who is to appoint the next Ministers? That there will be diarchy and there will be Ministers in Bengal in 1927 nobody - not even Mr. Sengupta - can dispute. Virtually the whole lease of those Ministers will be passed with Lord Lytton's successor. Why should a precedent in this matter. Sir George (now Baron) Lloyd left Bombay Presidency in December

1923. Elections had taken place a whole month before and he could, if he meant, nominate Ministers. But he did not and left their nomination to Sir Leslie Wilson with whom those Ministers were to work. Beyond doubt this is the correct course of conduct and should regulate the Governmental affairs in Bengal, unless it be proposed to extend Lord Lytton's time will remain after he leaves, we answer that the Members of the irresponsible half are appointed by His Majesty and have nothing to do with the Governor. They are there whether the Governor likes them or not. The position of Ministers is radically different. Why should the predilections of Lord Lytton be allowed to prejudice the career of his successor ? Lord Lytton is quite welcome to complete his period but must not be allowed to affect another Governor's Administration.

Peace in Delhi

Bakrid has passed : Mohrrum is coming. During Bakrid, a Hindu boy was run over by a Musalman Tongawala who has, to the best of our information, not yet been arrested, a Hindu Kahar was stabbed to death, and a Hindu named Sadhu has died as the result of a shooting feat performed by a Musalman Police Officer. What is in store for Hindus during Mohurrum? We have, so far, said nothing about the official conduct and do not intend to say anything for some time to come for two reasons, first that we are not yet out of the woods and secondly that judicial proceedings are yet to be taken. We do not even ask why action was not taken against an organ which is reported to have violated the District Magistrate's order in regard to posters. With as many as eighty Hindus arrested, impartial observers (we hope there are some in this world like the ex-Secretary of State for India the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Olivier) will know what to say if there be any disturbances during Mohurrum. The Viceroy succeeded in getting the heads of the Punjab and Bengal Governments to remain active. But here in this City which is governed quite mediaeval, Mr. Stow is nowhere

to be heard of. Why is he necessary? If there be no Chief Commissioner, the administration will cost so much less. Let us see if we feel his usefulness during the next few days. The elements appear to be in favour of friends of nonviolence. It has rained and we hope the hot heads among Hindus and Mussalmans as well as those among officials who believe in a little "bloodleeting," have been cooled. We also hope Mr. Stow will help the peaceful elements.

Sixteen and Sixtyfive

Nokhali in Bengal has furnished a case almost as sensational as that of Snehalata. A young girl named Sarala aged sixteen had a husband called Girish Chandra aged sixtyfive. We do not take our readers through the sordid details of the case. She was declared guilty of her husband's murder by a majority of a jury and was sentenced by the Session Judge to transportation for life. Who is responsible for the destruction of these two lives? Because she could not get a husband, Snehalata burnt herself and became a heroine. Is Sarala any the less of a heroine? Either from the moral or the criminal point of view, the actions of both are objectionable. The Penal Code punishes murder as well as an attempt to commit suicide. Morally, suicide is a greater sin than a murder. If Snehlata was a heroine, so is Sarala. She is going to live a life of peanance and expiation and, therefore, a greater heroine. Law has taken its course. Who will be convicted in the Court of God for this murder as well as virtual murder of Sarala? Society, custom, every individual who, in the remotest way, was responsible for the socalled marriage of a grand-daughter to one who would deserve to be called a grand-father-these are the real culprits. Such crimes bring down vicarious punishment on the community. It is crimes of this character, that Hindus in general are, at present, paying the penalty of.

A notorious brigand

From the East to the West. From Sarala to Miran. From

transportation for life to rigorous imprisonment for twenty-eight years. From injustice of "System" in one form to injustice of "System" in another. A bold man became a confirmed criminal because he found the Police of Sindh to be "liars and cowards." He was a hero in his own way. The Governor of Bombay mentioned him. He is certainly more talked of in mentioned him. He is certainly more talked of in Sindh than the Hon'ble Sir Gulam Hussain Hidyatullah, a Minister of the Bombay Government. Even in his hatred of Hindus we admire him. He is a confessed Criminal. But we know of worse criminals moving in high places who have escaped punishment and have on that account, been emboldened to advance in their criminal career. As compared to these black criminals, Miran was a white one. During his trial, Miran entertained the Court with posers. His career suggests a poser which we put to politicians, who always say 'the end justifies the means.' The end which Miran had in view was a noble one; his means are, therefore, justifiable. If this means were justifiable, why should Miran have been sentenced to this lengthy period of imprisonment? Let politicians answer.

Ten and Fifty

From British India to a Native State. A Jain of Kota Gaota in Bundi State engaged his daughter ten years old to a man of Anjangaon fifty years old. The marriage was fixed for 22nd June. Vaishya Suharak Mandal, Kotah, approached the Diwan with a request a intervene under the law prohibiting such incongruous marriages passed during the reign of the late Rao Raja. The Diwan ordered the Sub-Inspector of Police in charge of the town to stop the marriage and to send the parties for his inspection. The Diwan Sahib satisfied himself about the facts of the case and issued a permanent injunction disallowing the marriage and warning the girl's father who has been asked to select a young man of suitable age. It is now proposed to wed her to a young man aged eighteen belonging to Lakheri. A mischief, which had the germs of a first class tragedy, was thus defeated

and all parties concerned have either done well or have been prevented from doing evil.

Untouchables of Khanna.

We write subject to correction. But if our information be correct, Khanna provides a clear case for the intervention of the Government of Punjab. The members of the socalled untouchable communities belonging to Khanna have been prevented from drawing water from public wells in spite of an order of the Lahore High Court which substantially upheld the cause of these helpless people. Two weeks ago we gave all the material facts bearing on the case and thought that the judgment of the Lahore High Court has been virtually frustrated in the spirit by a District Magistrate, even as the Privy Council judgment regarding the right to carry processions with music on the highway is being defeated by the Police Commissioner of Calcutta acting under unjustified orders of the Government of Bengal and by several District Magistrates. Orders issued by the District Magistrate of Ludhiana under Sec. 107 Cr. P.C. were set aside by Justice Harrison. Now the D.M. has be taken to a section, action taken under which is not subject to the revisional jurisdiction of the High Court, whose power is restricted to declaring certain orders ultra virus. What action ought to have been taken by the Magistrate has been indicated by the learned Judge who says :-

"It would appear to be more reasonable to take proceedings against those who are expected to commit a breach of the peace and offer violence to lawabiding citizens."

Virtually, however, the D.M. has disregarded the direction and has taken action under sec. 144 against the members of the depressed classes. Even if a civil court declares the rights of these classes, there is nothing to prevent the D.M, from stultifying the civil court. Certainly this is not what was intended by the farmers of the Cri. P.C. This case ought to be again taken to the High Court as a test case. The glare of publicity may arouse the Government of Punjab will thoroughly expose the love of law possessed

by certain Magistrates, may affect the minds of the immobile members of socalled higher castes belonging to Khanna and will strengthen the righteous sense of progressive men, which requires to be whipped into effective activity. Certainly the High Court will say something even if it has to dismiss the application of the wronged party for want of jurisdiction. Again there is the famous dictum about law courts "one never knows." We hope the aggrieved members of the socalled untouchable classes will be enabled to take the matter to the highest judicial Tribunal.

Temple-entry in Assam

In Assam untouchables are not allowed to enter the temples of Kamakshya, Umananda, Kedar Madhav, etc. To secure them this right is the first object of a Committee formed at Gauhati, as the result of the efforts of Swami Satyananda of the Hindu Mission, the chief object of which is to improve the condition of untouchables and to give religion to the Hilltribes. We hope the temple authorities will obey the voice of the Hindu Community as expressed by the Hindu Mahasabha at Delhi.

At Last

At last the Government of Bengal have thought it necessary to throw off their torpor and to take action against Muslim Goondas who are spreading anarchy and terrorism in the mofussil of East Bengal and have almost been challenging British Raj. From frightening the editors to sending the Assistant Commandant Dacca Eastern Frontier Rifles to Pabna (where 455 arrests have so far been made) is a great stride and we have to congratulate Sir Hugh Stephenson on having taken it. We hope Government mean business this time.

A present to Dr. Kitchlew

Dr. Kitchlew and certain other Muslim leaders lose their heads when Hindu leaders mention Malabar, Multan, Kohat.

The "New India" of Madras is not an organ conducted by Hindus and therefore, we quote the following from it for perusal by Dr. Kitchlew and others :-

"The atmosphere in the Province (of Bengal) is strained by the wholesale desecration of temples in the eastern districts and the distressingly large number of cases of Hindu women being dishonoured. Dr. Kitchlew's appeal to the Hindus to forget Malabar and Multan and Kohat would have some chance of beg heeded if these outrages ceased. But at present, we fear there is none."

Mosul Treaty

"The Treaty is bound to have a repercussion in India upon the Indian Nationalist movement. I am sure the Indian Musalman Nationalists have learnt this much at least that they have to work for their country's freedom independent of what their coreligionists do abroad. In fact, it is only through India's freedom that they can wield any telling influence upon their coreligionists outside India."

"The (Mosul) Treaty has not been liked by anybody in Turkey. The treaty constituted neither a diplomatic victory nor political triumph for Turkey. On the contrary it deprived her of a province which was an indivisible part of hers." - The Stamboul correspondent of the Bombay Chronicle.

Darbhanga Hindu Sabha

Dr. B.S. Munje has been elected President of the Hindu Sabha Conference to be held at Darbhanga on 20th and 21st July. He will also attend the annual meeting of the Hindu Sabha Burra Bazar, Calcutta.

Untouchables at Kolhapur

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur has made a donation of Rs. 1000 to the Untouchables' Boarding Institution.

Eminent Mussalmans

G.A. Natesan and Co. of Madras have published a book called "Eminent Mussalmans." During these days, it is necessary for every Indian to know the trend of Muslim thought in India and to know that trend, it is necessary to know who are the notable Musalman leaders to whom we have to look up for the solution of the knotty Hindu-Muslim problem. The publication of a collection of biographies of the most famous amongst Indian Musalmans is very opportune and forms a contribution to the solution of this problem. The first life in this book is that of Sir Syed Ahmad and the last of Ali Brothers. Sir Abdul Rahim has, of course, got a place. But Haji A.K. Guznavi has not got one, nor has Mian Sir Fazli Hussain. One would expect in vain, if on reading the life of Mr. Jinnah one expected to read of the Maharaja of Mahmudabad without whose cooperation the Congress League scheme could not have been passed. Mazruhl Haque, without whose aid, the achievement of 1915 put to Mr. Jinnah's credit would not have materialised or Janab Yakub Hasan who is quite as important in Madras as Sir Mahomed Habibullah, has not been favoured. We hope the publishers will bring out another volume.

Shuddhi Samachar

We have received the July number of the "Shddhi Samachar" a magazine conducted by the Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha of which Swami Shraddhananda is the Working President and edited by Swami Chidanand, Secretary of the Sabha. It contains an appeal for funds for the Sabha and the Vyavastha for Shuddhi in Sanskrit framed by Dr. B.S. Munjie M.L.C. of Nagpur, is the most remarkable contribution in it.

Vedic Tenets

We have received a tiny book called "Vedic Tenets" written by Swami Mangal Anand Pury published by

"L.S.Verma & Co." 138 Attar Suiya Allahabad. This will prove useful to those who desire to understand Vedic Teachings and will give an idea of the "Vedic Dharma" as propounded by Swami Dayanand Sarsawati. It contains more than 80 pages and is priced at annas four only.

[The Liberators, 15 July, 1926]

Whom To Vote For

The elections are insidiously working their way into the Indian National Camp sowing the seeds of disunion and distress. The Muslim leaders are busy with their anti-Hindu propaganda and it is apprehended that Sir Abdur Rahim and others of that ilk will succeed in weaning almost all the Muslim candidates from contesting seats either on the Congress or on the Nationalist tickets. Of course they will allow two or three of them to remain attached to the Swaraj party in the Assembly and in every Province one or two will be allowed to fasten themselves on to every Provincial Council, in order to prevent the Swarajya party from voting on a question which might profess, in the least, to benefit the Hindus. On the other hand the Swarajya party, while welcoming every Muslim who comes as a candidate of the Khilafat, which has thrown a deadly challenge to the Hindus through their topmost leaders, have set their face against recognizing the existence of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

I have all along been a staunch advocate of maintaining the integrity and the prestige of the Congress - hence I wrote in the 'Liberator' of 8th April 1926 :- "I would like an overwhelming majority of the voters to return Swarajist candidates from every Constituency because, in order to wrest something out of the bullying bureaucracy, a clear majority of the elected members is necessary and that offices should, in no case, be accepted by Swarajists because acceptance of offices under the bureaucracy tends to

demoralize such office-holders." But at the end I said - "instead of wasting its energy in search of immediate Swarajya, it should take up the work of physical, economical and moral uplift of the people so that when through some cataclysm India is left free to develop and govern herself we might not be weighed in the balance, and found wanting."

Since then conditions have altogether changed; the Swarajya party has become a hotbed of intrigues and domestic quarrels, the Hindu voters have become disgusted with their indecision during the late Muslim Zulum in the Muffussil of Bengal, some of their staunchest supporters and colleagues are abandoning their colours and it is doubtful whether they will command even a decent minority in the coming elections. I appeal to the Lady President of the Indian National Congress to realize her responsibility and not to allow the Swarajya party to lower the prestige of that august body. Let a meeting of the A.I.C.C. be called at once and let the assembled members call away its candidates and decide to devote the combined energy of the no-changes and the Swarajists to the village re-construction and to the bettering of the Moral and Economic condition of the Indians. Let them also agitate out of the Assembly and the Councils for protecting the interests of the people. And, if necessary, a special session of the Congress could be called at once and the resolution of the A.I.C.C. confirmed.

There is another reason why the Swarajya party should keep out of the Assembly and the Councils. Baron Irwin has spoken and spoken with apparent sincerity and frankness. He ought to be given an opportunity of proving himself true to his pronouncements. The Swarajists should keep themselves out of the way so that the real rulers of India (the I.C.S.) may not be allowed to mislead the Viceroy. Comparing the pronouncements of the leaders of the different Indian parties today, there appears to be no difference in their several programmes and ways of work. But the threat of wrecking the Reforms stands intact against the name of the Swarajya party which is likely to act as a weapon of

offence in the hands of the Indian bureaucrats. The Swarajists will be well-advised if they refuse to have anything to do with the Reforms as they stand.

But it appears that the Swarajya party will neither themselves leave elections alone nor are they likely to submit to the dictates of the President and therefore the voters will have to make their choice between the Swarajists, the Responsive Co-operationists, the United Nationalists and the Independents.

I do not expect our Muslim voters-brethren to listen to me because of the prejudice created in their minds by interested persons, but with the Hindu voters I can claim a patient hearing. To them my advice is to vote for the best candidates as regards character and firmness in dealing with national questions. An individual of easy virtue who can not withstand temptations at critical moments, one who stands for a constituency because he can not make a living out of his profession, or who is known to be a breaker of pledges should studiously he avoided. It is better to vote for one who is a man of strong pure character rather than for one who comes with a high sounding label attached to his name but is a slave to passions and prejudices. During the last three months I have had frequent occasions of discussing this subject with leaders of all denominations and the result at which I have arrived is that it is useless to go into the Councils without an overwhelming nationalist majority and that can only he done by closing all ranks. And further having once entered those chambers, leaders should not fight shy of accepting offices under the Government.

There is no doubt that by the Swarajists keeping out, communalism will run rampant in the Assembly and the Councils. But Communalism was never absent from those chambers although the opposing parties tried to conceal it in a maze of hypocritical verbiage. When the Canker of Communalism is there, it will not be cured by concealing its existence. Let it, rather, come out of its hiding lair into

the open before the gaze of the thinking portion of the Hindus and the Musalmans. Then, if the leaders of both communities meet in solemn conclave, a cure is sure to be found.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

The Silver Jubilee of the Gurukula

I went out with a month's programme to deliver personally my message to some important places in U.P. of Agra and Oudh. Age and illness compelled me to return after five days and I promised to send my message round through the Press to my Hindu brethren. I give the first instalment of it today.

The Hindu Samaj cannot maintain its integrity unless more than seventy millions of so-called Untouchables are absorbed in its body and unless the portals of the Catholic Vedic Dharma are opened wide for all comers, to whatever sect or clime they may belong. Further the Hindu nation is sure to be blotted out of existence if the evil of early marriage is not eradicated and more than eight lakhs of child widows not allowed to remarry according to the dictates of authoritative Smritis. These reforms must come about at once. There is no time now for their passing through the stages of thought and word to action. Action-widespread action-must begin at once. But no reform is possible until the unnatural man-made caste system of the Hindus is replaced by the natural Vedic Varnasharm Dharma. As long the division and subdivision of Hindus into hundreds of castes and thousands of subcastes endures, so long will all social moral and spiritual reform remain doubtful and the resuscitation of the Vedic Varnashram Dharma appear impossible. Hence the ultimate fate of the Hindus Samaj rests on the revivification of the Brahmacharya Ashram in the shape of the Gurukula system of harmonious education of the body, mind and spirit.

That system of education was revived on the bank

of Mother Ganges at the foot of Himalayas more than twenty four years ago, followed by the opening of more than a dozen Ashrams on almost the same lines. That Gurukula will complete 25 years of its existence in the third week of March, 1927, when its Silver Jubilee will be celebrated. At that auspicious moment I, too, must place my humble offering at the foot of Mother Saraswati Devi. I exhort all who have the least regard for the Gurukula system of education and who appreciate my humble services to help me financially in order to make my offering worthy of the Divine Savitri.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Editorial Observations
Baron Irwin's Speech

The most notable event of the last week was the Viceroy's Speech at the Chelmsford club at Simla on, 17th July. The speech was not that of a professional politician nor of an exceptionally successful legal practitioner, and this, in our estimation, is a tribute in itself. It is not the Speech of a man who delights in the melody of his own words, which delight is only augmented by the knowledge that while he can revel in it there are others who are in acute distress. After all soil is a reality while the court is a decorated humbug. Lord Irwin comes as a man and not as a selfconceived superman. We, therefore, understand him. His Excellency appreciates the perplexities of the situation and does not rush to make fluent promises. It appears that His Excellency believes that until the Council Elections are over, no talk of peace and amity can be of any avail. Probably he is right. We do, however, request him to issue explicit confidential instructions to officials enjoining strict impartiality, as we are willing to accept the sincerity of his pronouncement. He does not and should not expect us to agree with him in every statement of opinion as we do not expect Lord Irwin to look altogether through our glasses.

We are content to observe that from his position of authority he tells that "Communal tension was eating into" the Indian National life "as a canker and "suspended its activities." We would add it was eating into the administration also. What impresses us most is that the Viceroy concludes his pronouncement with an appeal in the name or religion. If only the Viceregal Lodges reverberate with the prayer "They will be done on earth as it is in Heaven," man's highest and noblest qualities will prevail over others that have reigned supreme in this unhappy land for full three years and a half. As we said last week, the normal man (and the members of the Indian administration are not abnormal men) will obey Satan or God according as each asserts Himself. If Officials, high or subordinate, feel that God has managed to enthrone Himself at Simla and Delhi, they will also attempt (and at least fifty per cent with success) to do 'His will on earth as it is done in Heaven.'

Nightmare

We quote the following from "Manchester Guardian":

"It is disquieting to observe the principle of communal representation extending from the legislatures to the Civil service. If it is admitted in the Civil Service, can it be excluded in the army, and if the army of Swaraj India is officered on the communal principle, would it not soon be distraced by a Hindu-Muslim feud? The truth is if the Mohamedan community persists in its present attitude towards Hindus, it will be impossible to think of Swaraj except as a beautiful dream or a nightmare."

It may be observed that there are members of the Heaven born service as well as nonofficial Europeans who, according even to the responsible and anthoritative testimony of an Ex Member of the Bengal Executive Council, will like nothing better than to make Swaraj 'A Nightmare.' What is causing trouble is not so much the Mohamedan attitude towards Hindus as the British Government's support to the Mohamedan attitude. Mr. Birley's speech in the Bengal

Council on the motion of Mr. Suhrawardy about the Calcutta Police is the most obnoxious and demoralising utterance in this direction. It is unimaginable that Mohamedans can or will behave as they are doing without being backed up by a section of the European element in the India Services. A mere denial will be no more convincing than the denial of his guilt on the part of any normal accused person.

The Non-Brahmin Problem

Pandit Motilal Nehru is "puzzled and perplexed" by the arguments that are used to justify the Brahmin non-Brahmin differences in the South. We venture to suggest that it is because he has not gone and lived amongst the non-Brahmins of the South. We entirely agree with him that the fault lies with the non-Brahmins if the Congress is dominated by Brahmins. There is no educational test for the membership of the Congress nor are there any impediments thrown in the way of non-Brahmins joining the Congress. They have only to wish to and can have the influence in the Congress which their numbers entitle them to. But the solution is not so easy as Pandit Motilal thinks, outside the Congress. The Brahmin is, nowhere, a real Brahmin: he is a Vaishya or a Shudra. Let him either cease to call himself a Brahmin or become a real Brahmin. The attitude of selflessness and acts of real service on the part of Brahmins will alone solve the problem. Let Panditji look Gandhiwards and not Readingwards. Then alone will he be able to grapple with the problem with any hope of success. If he looks Readingwards, he will have, for ever, to remain "perplexed and puzzled." Reading had a limited business before him : it was only destruction. The business before the Indian people is one of construction. To remain 'puzzled and perplexed' is not the shortest route to that goal. Pandit Motilal Nehru is a Brahmin. Let him convert the socalled Brahmins into real Brahmins and success will be his. Those who cannot become real Brahmins should cease to enlist themselves under that category. In one word, let Brahmins

of the South give up the scramble for "loaves and fishes" say for a dozen years : and in the dozen years, Swaraj will have been attained at least in South India.

MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES

We reproduce the following from a "Non-Hindu" journal on the authority of one of our contemporaries, who has chosen not to give the name :-

"We are no believers in Book, Hindu or Moslem. We care not to inquire what the practice was in Mogul times. We stand on our rights as citizens and ask the authorities if they will give us protection against all molestation from outside. To stop music is to 'kowtow' before a mosque and is a new form of humiliation designed for non-moslems in place of Jizia abolished. Against this thinly veiled slavery British instincts ought to rebel. Not only Hindus but all non-Moslems are interested in the question of music before mosques. They ought to protest against this new development in the Moslem claim to superiority. These claims must be brushed aside where they interfere with the healthy growth of civic life."

Maulvi Leakat Hussain :-

"Everyone has a right to use the king's highway. All have a right to pass it with pomp and procession accompanied by music. In wholly Islamic countries like Arabia and Persia music is a common form of entertainment. Why then so much hue and cry in India?"

Mr. S.M. Haque, Advocate :-

"One careful consideration of the subject of music before Mosques, it is difficult to appreciate the demand of my brethren that it should cease before our places of worship. Leaving aside a few rare exceptions, our minds are often distracted during prayers owing to an involuntary recapitulation of the incidents of the day. This is quite natural as we have to offer five prayers according to a certain mechanical process which forbids complete concentration of mind even if it was generally possible. These prayers are

offered in the core of a whole day of work and in spite of the best efforts of our conscious self, we are likely to have echoes of our day's work and in spite of the best efforts of our conscious self, we are likely to have echoes of our day's work coming to our mind in the thought-provoking silence of a place of worship. But we pray in spite of all this. Now music is also a distraction but it is not more serious than the wanderings of the human mind. It is far more easy to ignore external than internal interruptions .... I wonder why we should take such morose view of our prayers that music should be so galling to us. Prayers, after all, are not funeral rites and the music should not be more unwelcome than the nerveracking noise of modern traffic. In any case it is best to keep such matters of propriety in the background. We in the Punjab have never complained of music before mosques so far ...... Why? because we are not under any false notion as to our right to stop it. I wish leaders of Bengal Mussalmans advised them to drop this false issue."

Mr. M.A. Wadood, pleader, Gaya :-

"A devout Moslem at prayer refuses to be disturbed by a passing procession in the street. The God of Mahomed does not approve of a spirit of intolerance and strife. You cannot convert a thoroughfare with all its incidents of bustle and noise into a quiet place ... A religion of humanity and a largehearted toleration for those who do not worship at the same temple are the teachings of the Arabian Prophet."

Mr. Rahim Ali writes in the I.D.T. :-

"The conditions in India are worse still. We have been very loud and even noisy in denouncing the fanatical tendencies of Ibu Saud the Wahabi Ruler of Hedjaz. But even Ibn Saud gathers wisdom to come to the rescue of Egyptian troops following the Holy Carpet when his more fanatical followers raise forcible objection to the music being played and this very Ibn Saud forms an escort to those who carry their music to the holiest of holy cities of Islam.

"Yet Muslim India while denouncing Ibn Saud on the top of his voice follows the most fanatical section of Wahabis and will go out of its way to commit offences against morality, religion and social and neighbourly feelings to demand an unwarranted right of stopping music before mosques. The demand is obviously unreasonable to the extent of being ridiculous and no one can prove from the laws and practices of Islam that while offering prayers to God in their own way they are bound by religious sanctions to be violent in enforcing a deadly silence all around them."

Lords Dunnedin, Carson and Darling (Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council) say :-

" The case seems to their Lordships to raise for authoritative decision the question as to the right of religious processions to proceed along the roads in India, practising their religious observances, and the decided authorities in India are certainly conflicting. THE FIRST QUESTION is, there a right to conduct a religious procession with its appropriate observances along a highway ? Their Lordships think the answer is in the AFFIRMATIVE. In Parthasarathy Ayyangar vs. Chinna Krishna Ayyangar. Turner C.J. laid down the law thus :- 'Persons of whatever sect are entitled to conduct religious processions through public streets so that they do not interfere with the ordinary use of such streets by the public and subject to such directions as the Magistrates may LAWFULLY give to prevent obstructions or breaches of the public peace."

In Sundaram Chetti vs. the Queen, before a Full Bench the position was maintained; Turner C.J. says :-

"With regard to processions, if they are of a religious character, and the religious sentiment is to be considered, it is not less a hardship on the adherents of a creed that they should be compelled to intermit their worship at a particular point than it is on the adherents of another creed, that they should be compelled to allow the passage of such a procession past the temples they revere."

Calcutta Riots

The 'Statesman' of Calcutta says :-

"To represent the Hindu procession passing along public streets under conditions laid down by the Government as 'provocation' and 'persecution,' is unworthy of a man who aspires to play an important part in public affairs.'

'The Englishman' thinks :-

"Law has been broken and broken by deliberate and reasoned intention; and no amount of rhetoric about Koranic injunctions or previous practice can get away from that hard and upalatable fact."

Sir Abdur Rahim and Dr. Suhrawardy, Deputy President of the Bengal Council, declined to make any statement. The Civil and Military Gazette can 'unfortunately' not find anything to say in defence of Calcutta Musalmans.

And After

On 18th July "The British and Indian Troops stationed in Calcutta marched through the disturbed localities in the morning to the accompaniment of band. The route of the march included streets where some mosques are situated." In the afternoon, the Moghul procession composed of more than 10000 Musalmans with Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. Ariff M.L.A. started at 2o'clock and returned at 5.30 p.m. The band, which headed the procession, played funeral music."

Emigration of Depressed Classes

We have been reading of the distress of Emigrants returning form Fiji owing to social ostracism etc. Hindu Sanghtan has no moral justification if the organisers cannot help the unhappy people against the misery of exclusion. The condition of these Fiji men as well as the prospect of nearly a thousand returning from British Guiana give point to the remarks of the leader of the Depressed Classes of Madras, Mr. R.Veerian M.L.C., which we quote in extenso. Certainly, even Dr. Kitchlew cannot charge us of humiliating Musalmans, when we draw attention to the figures quoted

by Mr. Veerian which show that hardly one per cent of the emigrants (as coolies) are muslim :-

"Our people form the biggest source of the labour force, not only in this presidency, but also outside. The Tamil districts are the main recruiting grounds of labour employed on the estates in Ceylon and elsewhere. Of that labour force, our people have a lion's share It should be remembered that these labourers do not cross the seas for mere fun or out of a love of adventure. The reason why week after week, so many ship-loads of men women and children emigrate is because in their own village homes they do not get fair treatment, of fair wages. Our publicists who fight against the emigration policy should first remember to set their own villages in order, educate the average casteridden Hindu to look on the Adi-Dravida brothers, not with feelings of contempt, but look upon him as a true asset of the land and its people.

From the latest figures available, it appears that among the labourers who emigrated to Ceylon, Adi-Dravidas constitute 36 per cent while Vannikula Kshatriyas are 16 per cent, Ambalakarars 15 per cent, Vellalars 8 per cent, Arunthuthiyas per cent, Oddars 2 per cent, Agamudiars, Kallars 3 per cent, Reddi, Nadar, Pandarma, Muslim, etc., one per cent. Arunthuthiyas are also part and parcel of the submerged classes, and if this is added the Adi-Dravida percentage amounts to 42 which is the biggest percentage. The percentage is significant. It is biggest because in the village our people are treated as the lowest. The latest report on emigration of labour to Ceylon and the Federated Malay States has recorded the fact that in many places the Kanganies or the Recruiting Agents evade the law by forging the signatures of the Village Munsiffs and by decoying women and minors without the knowledge of their lawful guardians. This is no doubt a growing menace to the welfare and happiness of our men, women and children. Whenever Kanganies enter a village, it is the duty of the Adi-Dravidas to keep a watchful eye on them and book them whenever

they play mischief. This is all that you can do. The Emigration Report says than 242 licenses given to Kanganies have been cancelled during the year, and this is an eloquent testimony to the fact that the Kangani-system has miserably failed. It is high time that this system is ended and a better system is adopted by the authorities. It is also complained in the report that certain Village Munsiffs help Kanganies and affix their signatures without making the proper enquries. This is probably done for a consideration. The Kanganies resort to all sorts of levices because they are paid by the proprietors at so much on each labourer recruited. Adi-Dravidas are everywhere conspicuous by their absence as Karnams or Village Munsiffs, and, in this connection, it is my contention that the system of appointing Adi-Dravidas as headmen of villages should be introduced and the system be given a fair trial, whenever and wherever possible."

Now we have received invitations from British Guiana for coolies and therefore, have to be particularly watchful of the activities of recruiting agents. The Depressed Classes are the most fertile field for every outsider's activities. It is not sufficient to keep them from falling a prey to the wiles of these selfish agents; it is essential to secure "fair treatment and fair wages" and "to look upon the Adi-Dravida (and every untouchable) brother as true asset of the land and its people." To fail in this duty means prostitution of Sanghatan and Hindu Sabhas.

Depressed Classes Mission Society

The Depressed Classes Mission Society of Madras held their Annual Meeting on 13th July1926, with the Hon'ble Justice M.Venkata Subba Rao in the Chair. D.B.G. Narayanswami Chetty, Secretary, presented the report of the Committee for 1924-25, which was adopted. The Report shows that night and day schools are being conducted by the Society. A reading room has recently been opened for the benefit of the poor people living in Vyasarpadi. Two day schools and seven night schools are being maintained

by the Society. D.B.G. Narayanswamy Chetty is maintaining a night school in Chintadripet and R.B.G. Venkatapathi Naidu is maintaining a night school in Vasapomode. Two other gentlemen promised to maintain two schools at Mirsahibpet and at Kasimode but did not do so except for a very short period after which the Society has been maintaining them from its funds. The Members of the Society have been delivering lectures on matters relating to health and Sanitation. Both the President and the Secretary have been re-elected for another year.

Panchama School

In Vyalapad (in Madras Presidency) Mr. Raghunath Reddy has opened and has been financing a school for Panchamas. He bears the expenses also of feeding the supplying clothes and stationery to many a pupil. He helps those, who pass their examinations, to get employment including Government service.

Depressed Classes

At the Saharanpore Social Conference a number of Resolutions were adopted, prominent amongst which were:

1. The minimum marriageable age of Hindu boys and girls be fixed at 21 and 14 years respectively;
2. Widows be remarried and , as far as possible, widowers marry widows;
3. The depressed classes be allowed to draw water from public wells and be admitted to schools, societies and clubs;
4. Readmission into Hindu Society be granted to such Non-Hindus as had been outcasted or voluntarily desire to become Hindus; and
5. Beggary and charity to Sadhus who render no service to Hindu Society be discouraged.

Dalit Uddhar Sabha

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi, was held on Wednesday 21st July 1926 in the evening.

Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha.

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha will be held on 24th July 1926 in the evening at the residence of Swami Shraddhanand.

[The Liberators, 2 July, 1926]

THE TILAK (ORNAMENT) OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

कर्मरायेवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन।

I hasten to lay my offering at the alter of the memory of Balwant Rao Gangahdar Tilak, the father of Indian Nationalism and still its chief ornament, on the occasion of his sixth death Anniversary. I had the good fortune of passing some hours at the top of Simhagarh in the house where Tilak gave the final polish to his Geeta Rahasya and where he used to retire from the anxieties of the world below in order to brood over the wrongs of his people and to take inspiration from the memory of the Saviour of Hindu Dharma, the great Chatrapati Sivaji and of his devoted general Tanaji-Sinha. I feel that the grand view of the surrounding country, the sublime positio[illegible] the ancient Maharatta Hillforts and the memory of the Mavala followers of the great departed Defender of Faith must have given a clue to the Maharatta patriot for his future line of work.

Before Tilak came into the field, politics was a drawing-room affair and the masses knew nothing about it. It is said that Bacon brought philosophy from its exalted position in the heavens to the practical life on this earth. We can say that Tilak brought politics out of the drawing room into the arena of the masses. By organizing popular Ganpati puja festivals, by starting the Kesari and by speaking to the people in their own language, Tilak moulded his mouth and right hand into a power in the land. Maharashtra became the most enlightened province in India and the leadership

of the people was gradually being snatched away from the emotional Bengal.

Bengal boasted of a dozen orators of the brightest type; Tilak was an apparently unemotional, undemonstrative speaker of aphorisms. But when he stood up quietly on the dais of the Surat Congress to oppose the election of the President, the huge moderate audience led by the most accomplished politicians of India were overwhelmed and could not face the silent leader of men.

The British bureaucracy was shaken to its very core by the political awakening in Maharashtra, and when following in the wake of that Province the whole of India was roused, the bureaucracy had to look for its safety. The whole power of the Government was moved to crush Tilak but jail and the hostility of the moderates were powerless before the iron will of the enduring man. The Government and his opponents had not to deal with a modern gentlemen, they had to deal with a real Man. And that man triumphed. A time came when he entered the Congress Pandal at Lucknow (in December 1916) with flying colours but without any flourish of trumpets. He was then the acknowledged Lokmanya - the honoured of the people - and when in simple short sentences he supported the resolution embodying the demand of the Indian people and with concentrated voice declared - "Home rule is my birthright and I shall have it," the ovation he got was tremendous. It appeared that he had given utterance to the heart of the Indian people which had been moulded by the teaching of Sree Krishna during centuries. Tilak taught the lesson of self-reliance to the Indian people.

The first educated Indian whose voice went straight to the heart of the people, the first patriot who sacrificed his all in the service of the motherland, the first leader who sanctified Jail by entering its portals in the cause of Truth and Justice and the first Hindu who by his Commentary of the Bhagvad Gita and by his acting up to its dictates taught the lesson :-

" Yours but to do the deed
Yours not to seek the meed"

- that is Tilak. Let us join in keeping his memory green in the hearts of the Indian people. I do not remember Tilak simply for his police all superiority. To me he is dear and venerable for his "Orion", his "Arctic Home in the Vedas" and his "Geeta Rahasya" - works which have left epoch-making marks on Vedic research and whose full worth has not been realized by the Indian people as yet. But what Tilak accomplished in his lifetime was nothing compared to what he intended to do, if he could have got the leisure. In a posthumous work consisting of his short notes on several subjects and published by his sons with the title - 'Vedic Chronology and Vedanga Jyothis" - I find hints of works on which he wanted to write in detail.

Those projected or suggested books were to embrace a history of Hindu religion as well as the political development of India, beginning with the "Chaturvarnya" (चातुर्वर्ण्य) and ending with the Bureaucracy - its ideals and a reconciliation of the ideals of the bureaucracy with the progressive viewpoint of the Indian nation.

When told by some people that when Swarajya was obtained he would be made the Prime Minister of the Indian republic, Lokmanya is reported to have said that when Swarajya became an accomplished fact he would like to become a professor of mathematics in some college. Excessive work and trouble given in Jail broke down the iron constitution of Lokmanya Tilak; but if he would have been spread, I would have liked him to retire to the heights of Sinha garh and to give all the sublime and practical ideas which were surging in his mind to the future generation. The material body in which his soul was encased the passed away, but the Soul of Tilak is either preparing itself for leading the Indian people on the right track or, being freed from future births, is watching the destiny of this ancient people for its being led to the final goal.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Mrs. Naidu to Muslims

At a Public Meeting at Barisal Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said: " I have championed the Musalman cause in many non-Musalman countries. I hope they would not be angry if I say that they should acknowledge the milk-debt and the blood-debt of mother India.......... God is free and He cannot be God unless He is free; and He wants that his worshippers must be free. Would the Musalmans not agree to this? I have fought for them in other countries but I will fight against them here. India must be free for India and Islam. As to my coreligionists, I will not spare them."

Shuddhi in Gujarat

Under the auspices of the Baroda Hindu Sabha, the Thakore Saheb of Ramos, a State in Mahikantha Agency was reclaimed to Hinduism on 24th August 1926.

Editorial Observations

Music before mosques

There is hardly any Musalman for whom we have greater regard than Maulvie Mazruhi Haque; there is hardly an Indian whom we place higher. We have already said that he stands out today as a star by himself daring to undertake what even Mahatma Gandhi gave up and what Lord Irwin does not feel strong enough to attempt. Anything that he says has our immediate and respectful attention. After asking Musalmans not to interfere with Hindu processions passing with music before mosques, Maulvisaheb in an article in the "Searchlight" say to Hindus, "by beating drums before their mosques you are disturbing them in their mosques you are disturbing them in their prayers." If any Hindu beat a drum before their mosques you are disturbing them in their prayers." If any Hindu beat a drum before a mosque deliberately, we shall condemn him as wholeheartedly as the Maulvisaheb. But Hindus never invented this beating of drums for this purpose. Go to places where Muslim mosques are beyond hearing distance of

Hindu temples, and you will find Hindus praying and performing Bhajan to the accompaniment of all sorts of instruments varying from the sweetest to the shrillest. Temples of Shankara are to be found in recesses even unknown to Moslems. Every Monday, worshippers are to be seen gathering and blowing conches with deafening loudness in those temples. It is at once a preposterous and a wicked suggestion that Hindus beat drum deliberately before mosques for annoying Musalmans. Coming from anybody else we know what the suggestion means. Coming from Maulvie Mazruhi Haque it pains and surprise us. It is difficult to speak of every individual. Hindus as a community have not at all got such an idea and we beg to disabuse his mind of any such suspicion. Maulviesaheb is holding a conference of Hindu and Muslim leaders on 31st July, and we wish every success to his efforts of restoring relations of amity. Let him not misunderstand or misrepresent the Hindu attitude.

Sermon on the Mount

Several journals have spoken of Mahatma Gandhi's teaching the New Testament to the students of the Gujarat Vidyapith in terms of suppressed derision. We wish emphatically to dissociate ourselves from them. Hinduism has never been intolerant of other doctrines. And why should it? Schopenhauer and other German savants have received Philosophy from Hinduism. A great German professor once wondered what Immanuel Kant would have given to the world if only he had read the great works of Sankaracharya. Hindus have nothing to fear in learning the Bible. Indeed there could not be a greater privilege even to Christians than to listen to the dissertations of Mahatma Gandhi on the "Sermon on the mount." Only recently he received the tribute from an elderly Englishman that he was a greater Christian than many a Christian. Fortunately Christians are not fanatics in connection with their Bible : otherwise there might have been a shower of brickbats. Bible has nothing

to fear from a contact with Hindus. We are very glad to see the two coming together through the most pious man alive.

KANIYAR SATYAGRAHA

The replies given by the Government during the recent Session of the Mysore Representative Assembly to the interpellations and supplementary questions of Messrs Hosakoppa Krishna Rao and others regarding the movement of Satyagraha of Kaniyars at T.Narasipur, go to show that the former are not against the movement. On the other hand, it was clearly evident that the Dewan Sahib and the second Councillor were in full sympathy with the same.

His Highness, the Maharaja of Mysore and his Government are graciously making every attempt to secure to the children of the Kaniyar community as well as other sections of the depressed class, free access to all the public schools in the state and to propagate the spinning wheel and the Hand-Loom.

Several National workers and Congress Leaders and also the director of the Hindustani Seva Dal have given their opinions regarding the Satyagraha thus :- Every member of the Kaniyar community must take to his heart the message of the spinning wheel which is very dear to His Highness the Maharaja; all the children of the Kaniyar community must be admitted to the Public schools and given good education and thus secure the love and gratitude of His Highness and His Government. They must show that they are worthy of the rights and responsibilities given to them. Afterwards they would naturally secure the right of temple-entry also in the usual course of things.

In order to declare to the world that they are worthy of trust and liberty reposed in them, that they remain thoroughly nonviolent under the greatest provocation and also to show clearly that to secure the right of temple-entry is their determined objection in life, every headman of the community in each village should see that in each household

of his community there is hand-spinning and hand-weaving conducted. The clothes thus produced should be used by them. They all should wear a uniform dress consisting of a Khadi cap, a Khadi shirt and Cnicker.

Out of the total Khadi produced in each village, they must sell to our Committee (Gramarkshana Sabha, Tagadur) not less than fifty yards of cloth every month for at least 6 months and obtain cash receipt for the same. All the Kaniyars must wear a uniform dress. After finishing this programme satisfactory Satyagraha is to be undertaken.
18.7.26 T. Ramchandra Rao.

Requirements of Life

Mahmoud Essad, Minister of Justice, Turkish Republic, presenting the new Turkish Code, said :

"The life of man is subject everyday and always to fundamental changes. It is impossible to stop or to bind round a point the changes and the movements of life. States which have laws based on religion will be unable after a little time to satisfy the requirements of their country and of the people because religion expresses untouchable judgments; but life is fluid. The needs change rapidly. Consequently the laws of religion cannot have any meaning or value beyond a form of dead words in the presence of progressive life. The laws, which take their foundation from religion, fetter the civilisation in which they are observed and become the chief facts and agents against progress. There is no doubt that our laws, which have been inspired by the Untouchable judgments of religion and which have been remained in perpetual contact with divinity, have been the strongest factor in binding the Turkish Nation to mediaeval viewpoints and regulations even in this present age..... "Whenever Reforms have been introduced, only those groups, whose interests have been infringed, have opposed them and the opposition, in the name of religion and false beliefs, has poisoned and misled the people.

"It is not a thing of reason to remain helplessly fettered to beliefs inherited from our forefathers in the face of facts."

What is nor religion

The Right Reverend Bishop of Lahore in the course of a lecture on "Kingdom of God" on Friday 14th July said:

"The communal riots in India and all such troubles were due to absence of love for one another and for the common Creator of all, which gave rise to selfishness and disregard for the feelings and rights of others....... Every true religion should teach this sort of love and any religion, which interfered with the civil rights and liberties of others cannot be called a religion at all."

England and Muslims

"I cannot say more than that the views expressed will be taken into account" replied Earl Winterton to a question of Colonel Day who drew attention to a resolution of the mass meeting of the Muslims at Lucknow on June 13th regarding treaties between Britain and Ibn Saud.

- Reuter.

Bihar Anjuman-I-Mohafazet

The Bihar and Orissa Anjuman-i-Mohafazet have published their aims and objects. It is declared that they will, inter alia :-

1. Abstain from all acts that are intended to irritate and incite their Non-Muslim countrymen and from all acts of violence;
2. Provide all sorts of arrangements for the protection or person, property and religion of the Musalmans in case Muslims are unnecessarily harassed and undertake all remedial measures, but never to do such mean and reprehensible acts as are not warranted by the traditions of Islam;
3. Invite influential men from amongst Non-Muslim fellow countrymen to become honorary members of the Association.

Bombay Ulema Conference

In the recent session of Bombay Ulema Conference, Maulana Mahmomed Fakir said :-

"Muslims were ever ready to fight Hindus with swords and he wanted Pandit Malaviya to arrange for a fight on a maidan between 500 Muslims and an equal number of Hindus to see who would win."

Deny God

Moulvie Mazruhi Haque writes :-

"All the beneficent forces of nature and spirit are created, guided and controlled by love. To deny love is deny God. Hatred, revenge and intolerance are evil and evil can never be of God."

Dr. Moonje in Calcutta

Presiding at the annual meeting of the Burrabazar Hindu Sabha, Dr. Moonje traced the history of the loss to Hinduism during the last nine hundred years of seven crores of men. Regarding the present situation, Dr. Moonje said that Hindus were living under two dominations, the political domination of the English based on their strength of machineguns and the domination of the Mahomedans based on their aggressive mentality. The mild and docile Hindu was a prey to the domination of two kinds and had to see whether, while putting up with the machinegun domination as an inevitable evil, he was also to put up with the other domination.

No Government, said Dr. Moonje, not even a purely Hindu Government could give complete protection to the people from such molestation from which they were suffering at present, so long as they were not prepared to defend their hearths and homes and the womenfolk. Dr. Moonje advised Hindus of all castes including the socalled untouchables, to see that their youths did get proper training in physical exercise and particularly in lathi play in order that they might be better prepared to defend themselves in times of emergency such as they were passing through.

Dr. Moonje concluded by asking Hindus not to lose courage and patience and to go through the temporary struggle like men fully prepared to meet all provocation and aggression like men.

In the session two resolutions, inter alia were passed, one expressing sorrow at the death of Hindus during the recent riots and the other protesting against the Bengal Government communique on the question of music before mosques.

The Associated Press representative saw Dr. Moonje who said that behind the present Hindu-Muslim struggle was nothing less than a civil war fought by Mahomedans with a view to demonstrate to the British Government that in spite of what English Historians have chronicled, Muslims were even now a dominant race in India whose claims would have to be given premier consideration when the statutory commission would come in 1929.

[The Liberators, 29 July, 1926]

We Are Sorry

We are sorry we cannot give this week the XIX instalment of "In and Out of the Congress." As the hopes of justice created in Hindu minds by the judgment of the Privy Council regarding processions with music were defeated by questionable executive action, the hopes of impartial administration created by Lord Irwin's memorable speech in the Chelmsford Club are being dashed to pieces by executive interference. We have reason to say that the Associated Press message regarding the public meeting held in Delhi on 25th July 1926 has been interfered with and also the A.P. message regarding the prosecution launched against the Editor of the "Suddhi Samachar" under Section 153A. I.P.C. This prosecution coming, as it does, closely after the reference to conversions in the House of Lords and after the publication in the "Times" of an unintelligible communication of Lala Lajpat Rai regarding Shuddhi, seems to us something which requires us to think seriously. We had to go to Meerut on account of executive interference with Aryasamaj Nagar-Kirtan and on our return we learnt of the prosecution launched against "Shuddhi Samachar." These and other things have kept us too busy during this week. We understand Lord Irwin is today staying in Delhi and request H.E. to satisfy himself as to whether there is some truth in Lord Olivier's twice made statement.

AN APPEAL TO HINDU RULERS
(Contributed.)

It is hardly necessary to state at any length the serious drawbacks from which the Hindu Community are suffering in their own land Hindusthan. There was a time when the Hindus held aloft the torch of civilisation before the world, and their philosophy and religion were recognised to be the guiding spirit for the uplift of humanity. A series of misfortunes has resulted in the situation that far from being able to lead mankind towards the glorious paths shown by their noblest philosophy, Hinduism is unable to hold its own even in the land of its birth; and signs are not wanting that unless early and vigorous steps are taken to protect it, there is a risk of its gradual but sure dwindling into insignificance, if not utter annihilation from the face of this earth.

The following are among the chief causes that are leading the Hindu Community down the path of decline and decay :

a. Depressed Classes and untouchability, (b.) refusal to take back into the fold any body who has once renounced the Hindu religion though as the result of fraud or violence, (c.) practice of excommunication, (d.) absence of means for the protection of widows. There are many other social and religious weaknesses that have come upon the Hindus owing to various reasons.

It is a matter of great urgency that early steps be taken for the protection of Hindu Community from decay and annihilation. The recent law passed by the Kolhapur state prohibiting marriages of girls below ten and boys below fourteen creates the hope that Hindu Rulers will and can take effective steps to purge the Hindu religious system and the Hindu people of weaknesses. That hope moves the writer to suggest the following as some of the steps which are necessary to achieve the desired object.

1. Religious Education

It is the absence of proper religious education that is responsible for many of the ills and evil customs.

In all educational institutions of the states, it should be made compulsory to teach Hindu pupils 1. The Bhagwad Gita, which is respected not only by all Hindu sects but also by scholars professing different faiths and 2. the lives of Hindu Mahapurushas. Books on neeti like Hitopdeshas, Panchtantra, Chanakya Neeti, Sukra Neeti & should also be taught in schools.

2. Dharmaopadeshaks

The British Government maintains, at State Expense both in England and in India, a Church Establishment : in imitation of the suzerain Power, the Hindu Rulers should employ Dharmopadeshaks for disseminating true culture among the Hindus, specially the depressed classes. In olden times e.g. during the reign of Asoka the Great, the State used to have thousands of Upadeshaks who always took care of the religious and social life of the public.

3. Depressed Classes

It my be pointed out that through sheer ignorance and thoughtlessness many classes are included among the untouchables though their heredity and mode of living do not warrant the same and thereby the numbers of untouchables are most wantonly increased. Nobody but the Bhangis and Chamars could by any stretch of the imagination be called untouchables although real Hindu religion does not warrant any untouchability by birth even for these classes. The State Temples, State Schools, public wells and tanks should freely be opened to all Hindus including the depressed classes, with proper observation of sanitary provisions. The Hindu Mahasabha has also passed a resolution on this subject with due deference to the sentiments of the people. Public services in States should also be open to their employment, in fact, in the beginning it is desirable to reserve certain numbers for them.

4. Begar

Some Jagirdars as well as some officials of some States take service from some of the members of the depressed classes without any or with quite inadequate compensation. This practice is very unjust to the poor, and brings in the consequential evil of forcing them to leave Hinduism in favour of other religious. This system should therefore at once be put a stop to wherever it exists by the enactment of laws by the respective States against it.

5. Orphanages

Hindu Orphanages should be started for Hindus. It is seen on all sides that in the absence of Orphanages for Hindus, Hindu Orphans are taken charge of by institutions of other faiths. It will be easy for the Princes to secure Funds without taxing their Non-Hindu subjects.

6. Hindu Widows

The problem of Hindu widows specially those who are poor and have got children, is very difficult. There should be a provision for giving them allowance or pension so long as it may be deemed necessary.

7. Excommunication

This is the worst bane of the Hindu society, Punchayets, or any group of persons, usurp to themselves the power of insulting people and satisfying some personal grudge specially if the object of their attack be a person of progressive ideas and respectability. So long as a person has got some support in the community any attempt at excommunication or combination to insult some person or to exclude him from the enjoyment of common social rights should be prohibited by law. In this respect Hindu chiefs can render the best service. They will not be interfering with a single legitimate activity or even legitimate prejudice of non-Hindus. They will, as a consequence, affect beneficially the policy of the British Government.

Editorial Observations
Learn English at Calcutta

An Englishman cannot know English so well as a Bengalee. Lord Irwin's mother tongue happens to be English; but His Lordship must go to the office of "Bengalee" to understand the English word "religion." Lord Irwin may refer to the Oxford University Dictionary in which religion is defined as "human recognition of the superhuman controlling power of God entitled to obedience" or to the Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary which defines it as "the recognition of supernatural powers and of the duty lying upon man to yield obedience to these." But that is simply no use before the Bengalee editor of the "Bengalee." The English peer may murmur that the learned Bengalee editor is confounding 'religion' and 'religiosity;' but retorts the latter that His Excellency has to learn in India. We have fresh memory of the learned disquisition on 'disturb' and 'distract' in a journal of Calcutta and now we have one about 'religion as it is' and 'religion as it should be'. We now guess why Lord Hardinge abandoned Calcutta : he has too old to learn.

Law of a D.M.

British India must be a hell in the opinion of a pretty large percentage of District Magistrates although there is sec. 144 of the Cri. P.C., of which the full potentialities have been demonstrated by the learned Allahabad lawyer, who was knighted for remuneration. Although that section enables a D.M. to order any person to do or to abstain from doing anything, his orders are only of an administrative character and he is not able to make laws for the District. This disability is nothing short of hell. The D.M. of Faridpore had to call in the aid of a section of the Indian Penal Code, no. 296, to regularly defeat the most recent decision of Hia Majesty in-Council in regard to leading processions in public streets with music. What Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is reported to have

done to see. 144 of the Cri. P.C., Haji A.K. Guznavi appears to have done to sec. 296 I.P.C. Better late than never. The executive officers are generally intolerant of legal talent: these two learned law-years are entitled to ask them to relent a bit. A District Magistrate knows that many a judgment of a D.M. has been reduced to smithereens by a High Court and that he is not the highest judicial authority of the land. Will the D.M. of Faridpore allow a test case to be taken to the High Court of Calcutta to determine whether his interpretation of sec. 296 I.P.C is correct? If he is "sport", he will. We venture to say his is a wrong interpretation which only supplies evidence of the twice repeated statement of an Ex-Secretary of States for India.

Sir Hugh vs. Lord Lytton

It appears Sir Hugh Stephenson was anxious to repudiate the charge which was powerfully and, we submit, correctly made, viz. that the communique of the Bengal Government purported to exercise a power which the Government did not posses. Now comes the repudiation: "We have made no declaration affecting any one's Civil Right .... We have defined our police regulations to preserve the peace of the City. These regulations we have enforced and we have insisted on enforcing without regard to complaints or threats until a change in conditions makes them unnecessary or unsuitable." Apparently the contention of Haji Gaznavi supported by the D.M. of Faridpore has not been gulped down by the Ag. Governor of Bengal.

Not quite

"The accusation of partiality comes from both sides and might reasonably be regarded as cancelling each other" said Sir Hugh. This appears to be something like a paraphrase of the famous statement of Sir Alexander Muddiman who after the recriminations between Jinnah and Patel in the Assembly, satisfied himself with saying that what was said by one side was answered by the other. Whatever cogency

there was in that, we may warm Sir Hugh that judges do not necessarily take the view be propounded. It is quite open to suggest : "as the accusation comes from both sides" hostile to each other, "it might reasonably be regarded" that it is universally believed in India and that it is the duty of the administration to introspect a little and "set its house in order."

Abuse no Argument

We have heard it ad nauseum from the spokesmen, high and low, of the British Indian administration that "abuse is no argument." We have yet to learn - English is not our mothertongue - that the words "monstrous" "wicked" "fantastic" etc. are not abuse but argument. With the use of these words, these spokesmen aspire to satisfy the world that the administration is free from any taint. We make an exception in the case of Baron Irwin whose words we value to a very great extent. But the other "higher authorities" referred to by Sir Hugh do not posses a reputation which will make their abuse argument. Lord Birkenhead has been described by the "Englishman" in a particular context to have "surely not for the first time outrun his direction." In another context the "Sunday Express" has stigmatised his as "ignoble oratory" and has maintained that "Lord Birkenhead descended to the lowest depths of impoliteness in his speech." Referring to the two speeches in the House of Lords of which one was delivered by Lord Birkenhead, the "Manchester Guardian" says "The debate sank of the lowest conceivable level." The "Observer" commented that these two noble lords did their best to show "how remote the House of Lords is from the general current of opinion." A large number of respectable English ladies have formally protested against "Lord Birkenhead's exhibition of maculine vulgarity." These are the titledeeds of Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India. His understudy may be dismissed with a reference to his inhumanity in describing an English widow's distress as the result of her being "unhinged" over

the death of her husband. Peers, who lack the normal English virtue of "Chivalry" in such measures, are the persons whose fulminations are looked upon as sufficient refutation of charges seriously made and widely believed! We quote elsewhere the opinion of the Ministerial organ of Madras to show how widely they are believed.

Mere Denial

"GROSS STUPIDITY" -(these words were used by the Governor of Bengal) is a rather strong expression and we do not know what words will exactly express the mentality underlying the belief that a denial constitutes refustation. Certainly twelve hundred gentlemen, who can rule three hundred million Indians, can never be charged of stupidity. The leaders of these twelve hundred think a denial of a charge made against an assertive minority of them to be a satisfactory refutation. Of course, Lord Irwin is not one of these divine twelve hundred and his statements will de deal with separately. We have a few words in the Administration Report of the U.P. for the last year and in the speech of Earl Winterton, which are rather treacherous. But certainly all doubts must be set at rest by a proposition like the one enunciated by the ag. Governor of Bengal that "Pabna is one of the many cases where false reports have actually led to their fulfilment." Complaisance, callousness, lubricity are all words to be found in every English Dictionary. Winston Churchill once said that it was some improvement to be called "robber" after being called "murderer." After being described as "Satanic" the administration must be thinking it a compliment that it should be looked upon as capable of doing justice by one community against another. We draw no inference.

Live to learn

Galetti is the name of a Collector who, in Ganjam District, refused to pander to the whim of a Christian Missionary who objected to the building of a Hindu temple

on the top of a hill on the ground that bells and other musical instruments would make noise in it. Like Sir Leslie Wilson, Mr. P.A. Kelly, Mr. Pool, Mr. Marsh and a few others, Mr. Galetti suffers from some obsession ! "Privileged buffoon" is an expression which is rather unparilamentary to apply to an Ex-Secretary of State, but English is not our mother-tongue. Perhaps, like the "Rivers of Blood" "a battle in the field of Panipat" "10000 volunteers enlisted to bring Lalas to terms", this is also an expression which may be allowed to Musalman publicists as a safeguard of their special interests. An expression, which may be used on an Ex-Secretary of State for India, may or may not be used by Musalman publicists of a Collector. Mr. Galetik is living; is he learning? Far away in Assam, music in a Hindu temple has been objected to on the ground that European residents are disturbed. If music with prayers in an already existing temple car be objected to, it strikes one as quite allowed to grow, - nay this latter is more reasonable. Will the thwarted Missionary renew his objection?

Learn to Live

Sir Abdur. Rahim was President of the last Session of the A.I. Muslim League. We presume, a communication issued by the Secretary of the Bengal Presidency Muslim league cannot be without his approval. "We have got to live and live amicably with our Hindu brethren" says the manifesto which further points out that the question of playing music before mosques "has nothing to do with the shariat" when people of other denominations are concerned. It boldly states that though undoubtedly a sectarian organisation, the League "cannot be party to a fraud perpetrated by reactionary leaders over the Muslims of Bengal in the name of religion."

Learn to be elected

Simultaneously with this bold pronouncement comes from Allahabad which had the blessing of being recently visited by Haji A.K. Gujnavi, the point manifesto of Maulana

Vilayat Hussain and Mr. Zahur Ahmad M.L.A., who was the only member of the Khilafat C.D.E. Committee of 1922 to recommend a departure form the Gandhian programme. It vows curses on Hindu music and so on. We shall not say of Mr. Zahur Ahmad M.L.A. what the manifesto of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League says of some individuals or party : "This clever ruse has been adopted .....as topics for the coming election by reactionaries to defeat our national cause."

Communal Representative

Sometime ago we had to speak of the murder of her husband by a wife and her punishment in Bengal. It was Hindu case. We have communal representation and now we are able to speak of a Musalman case. The Session Judge of Jalpaiguir has sentenced Majirenessa to death on the charge of murdering her husband named Bigram Mahammad. There is disparity in the sentence and we appeal to the Local Government (if the High Court confirms the sentence) to commute the capital sentence to one of transportation for life.

Joshis of Bombay

A lawyer comes between man and justice. A politician comes between man and truth. A priest comes between man and God. Mr. Bole M.L.C. brought in a bill in the Bombay Legislative Council to reduce the harm that has been caused to Maharashtra by the professional priests called Joshis, Watandars as they call themselves. "They are not servants" mind you, but they are entitled to fees even from unwilling Yajamans (not employers, mind you again) and they can file suits in lawcourts for those fees. And these are the custodians of ancient culture and what not. They are the descendants of Vasishtha and Vishwamitra. They are Brahmans and as such entitled to fees without rendering service. Were they Vaishyas or Shudras, they had to render service. The Hon'ble Mr.Jadhav and Mr. Bole have attacked

the sanctum of these Joshis who must be calling the curse of heavens on both these unbelievers. Perhaps in this Kaliyuga God has also changed caste and has become a Dasyu. He may not be liking the multicipation of "parasite" classes. Pleaders and politicians are increasing : Joshis and Beggars should now leave the field of the unproductive classes. That is, perhaps, His Ordinance. Does anybody suggest an addition to the three dignitaries : "The Southern Brahmin comes between India and Swaraj"?

Better late than never

We learn that the Bangiya Brahman Sabha at a meeting held on the 25th July in Calcutta resolved that Hindu women kidnapped forcibly, molested or outraged will be taken back into the Samaj after Pryaschita and that to simply read the "Kalma" is not sin for the Hindus and that if they are focibly fed rice and any other food howsoever prohibited it might be, they ought to be taken back into the caste after "Prayaschitta." This resolution is only a lengthy paraphrase of "reconversion." If such an attitude were adopted by Hindus, they would never have been in the dire condition in which they are today. Better late than never. Even as it is , the resolution is not completely fair, because it is mere injustice to force the molested and outraged woman to perform Prayaschitta. All the same we are glad to find the door opened. A blind man does not insist on two eyes.

Untouchability Removed

Bardoli is a Taluka in Surat District and it was reported that the Curse of untouchability was removed in that area. In the year of Grace 1926, we now learn that because children belonging to the socalled untouchables classes are not admitted to primary schools, it has been threatened by the authorities to close the schools. What was not achieved by calls in the name of reason and justice, appears likely to be achieved by this threat of the authorities. So be it. Even Swaraj may one day be rammed down the throats of unwilling

Indians! We wonder where the inspiration to the authorities has come from. It is an open secret that the Government orders on this point have been honoured in their breach than in their observance in some cases and, in many cases, have been defeated in spirit though observed in the letter. If the Government of Bombay take it up seriously, they will succeed in removing untouchability at least from the educational institutions i.e. the nurseries of the future generation.

Our duty to Outcasts

Lala Devi Chand of Hoshiarpur delivered a lecture at Simla in the course of which he gave quotations from Vedas in support of the Universal Brotherhood and equality of all persons. On account of the ignorance of Vedic Teachings, Hindus had lost seven crores to Islam and sixtytwo laks to Christianity from their fold. The days, during which Kanva Rishi brought 10000 converts from Egypt, were forgotten. All credit was due to the five crores of untouchables who had not forsaken their Dharma inspite of all the hardships and troubles of thousands of years. The lecturer wondered at the mentality of Hindus who offered food to snakes and ants but could not tolerate a thirsty Hindu of one of the Depressed Classes taking water from their wells as long as he remained a Hindu. He alluded to the ignorance and selfishness of Nambudari Brahmans of Madras and the miserable condition of untouchables, and appealed to the Hindus to take immediate measures to enlighten and strengthen their community.

Tilak Anniversary

A meeting was held under the auspices of the M.S.S.S. on 1-8-19-6 in the morning to observe the Death anniversary of Lokmanya Tilak. It was addressed by Swami Shraddhanand.

Anniversary Public Meeting

In the evening on 1.8.1926 a public meeting was held in the Hall of the District Congress Committee, Delhi, Pandit Indra presiding. Speeches on Lokmanya were delivered by Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Lele, Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, Lala Shankarlal and the Chairman.

LORD OLIVIER'S LETTER

The following letter from Lord Olivier ex-Secretary of State for India, was published in "The Times" of 10th July:

Sir, - The very interesting dispatch from your Simla Correspondent which appears in "The Times" today confirms the correction which I have offered in your columns to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's contention that communal dissensions in India are due to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The causes, as your Correspondent points out, are interior and wider, and his references to them support what has been written by myself and Indian correspondents in your columns. But the scheme of franchises, which was adopted on the recommendation of Lord Southbrough's Commission in connection with the new Constitution, has certainly accentuated and extended the evil influences of the communal principle. That Commission itself deplored the necessity which it deemed to be forced upon it, of creating new electoral communities in addition to the pre-existing distinction between Hindus and Moslems, and hoped it would be transitory. Until the communal principle for electoral franchises is eliminated, ordered progress in constitutional government will be impossible.

But there are other causes of the increasing faction fighting. No one with any close acquaintance of Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialism in India in favour of the Moslem community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy, but more largely as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism. Independently of this and its evil effects, there has been vacillation in police action and police court practice,

some times on one side and sometimes on the other encouraging each side to take liberties. This is almost universally attested by responsible Indians who impute it - I do not say justly - to a deliberate desire on the part of authority to maintain communal trouble as a testimony against the possibility of constitutional progress. Whether this imputation be unjust or not, they point, as your Indian correspondence have done to the absence of such troubles in Native States, where the purpose of maintaining public order and an even balance is untainted by any such mischievous "arrierepensee."

Contrary to the opinion of many Indians, I consider that the regulations recently promulgated in Bengal with regard to processions, etc., are on the right line, if for no other reason, because they appear to me to follow the principles on which native rulers proceed. Mutual consideration is enforced : offensive demonstrations, such as the killing of cows, are in some cases absolutely prohibited. Hindu procession with music, where there is a Moslem population, may reasonably be prohibited in certain places and at certain times, but the Moslems have no right to expect that these religious rites shall be forbidden at all times and in all streets because they have mosques in every street and pray at all times of the day. Correspondingly, it is outrageous that Moslems to whom the killing of a cow is at best a mere purveying of butcher's meat, should be allowed, as they have been in some places, to make a public festival and demonstration of this exclusively secular feat by leading the poor beast through the streets wreathed with garlands, as in a religious procession, and as if they were about to make an idolatrous sacrifice wholly repugnant to their own religion. If Moslems must have beef it should, in Hindu cities, be purveyed through licensed abattoirs.

Old Hall, Ramsden, July 7.

Olivier.

Official Bias

In his speech in the House of Lords, Lord Olivier said:

"What I did say - and it is based upon what I have heard from a great many Englishmen who have served in India and from a great many Indians who have a very good reputation in India - was that there is an official bias in favour of the Mahomedan Community. I will not now go into the question of these faction fights but there was distinct satisfaction on the part of those persons, both in this country and in India, who were opposed to the Nationalist movement that the pact had broken up and that there should be political dissensions among these affected."

Appeal of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi

The Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi was founded in 1913 and was carrying on the mission of ameliorating the position of the socalled untouchables. In 1921 the Sabha secured the patronage of Swami Shraddhanand whose enthusiasm coupled with the munificent aid given by Seth Jugal Kishor Birla enabled the Sabha to substantially widen the sphere of its activities. With Swamijis's sympathy and guidance, the Sabha has weaned away thousands of socalled untouchables in Delhi, Meerut, Gudgaon, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Mathura, etc., from their habits of Drink and meat eating and has initiated them into the Vedic Dharma. It has not only saved thousands from being driven away form Hinduism by the numerous hardships arising out of the inflexible caste distinctions but has also brought back larger numbers that had actually stepped out. The improvement in their own way of living and in their relation with other Hindu castes can be seen by anyone who cares to go and observe them in the above mentioned districts.

The Sabha has got eleven workers and preachers for spread of the Vedic faith and has been conducting thirty schools for the education of the socalled untouchables, in which 1300 boys and girls are being imparted religious and uptodate secular education.

The Depressed Classes of Delhi have no houses of their own and have to accommodate themselves in hired premises in filthy and congested bylanes. Touched by their miserable condition, the Sabha approached the authorities for a site on which a model village could be constructed for them. It is a matter for felicitation that the authorities have been pleased to grant a site at Paharganj situated to the west of the railway line at the foot of the Ajmere Gate overbridge. On this site model houses will be constructed by the residents themselves. But, for the intellectual and spiritual needs of those people, it is necessary to build a school and a temple, the cost of which has been estimated at Rs. 12500, the school requiring Rs. 6000 out of which Government will contribute Rs. 3000. The remainder viz. Rs. 9500 has to be subscribed by the public.

It is not now necessary to explain the need of uplifting and reforming the untouchables. People now know it for themselves too well. Religion and the present conditions will convince anybody that to remove the feeling of contempt and untouchability towards these depressed brethren is to remove a disgrace from the face of Hinduism. To help the six crores of socalled untouchables is to help Hinduism itself. Therefore this appeal is addressed to adherents of Hinduism and lovers of their community to contribute their mite to enable the Sabha to perform this necessary service and, thus, to share the credit and merit of it.

Untouchables to Join

Honorary Secretary, Matunga Branch of the Hindu Mahasabha writes :-

The Matunga Hindu Sabha is this year going to celebrate Ganapati Festival with the co-operation and help of all associations for the same purpose at Matunga. This promises to be a joint function in which all Hindus including socalled untouchables will take part. A General Meeting of the Hindu residents of Matunga was called on 28th July in which a special Managing Committee consisting of some 50 influential

persons was elected for this purpose. The Managing Committee has passed the following resolution at this first Meeting :-

"The Ceremony will be open to each and every one who calls himself a Hindu, irrespective of caste, opinion, touchability and untouchability."

The Depressed Classes

The Hon'ble S.R.Das, replying to an address of welcome on 30.7.26 in Madras said :-

"We cannot have a national life, we cannot be a nation, until our backward communities are elevated. The question of raising backward communities should be taken up as a national question. It should not be viewed as a communal problem nor should the raising of backward classes be done to the exclusion of communities that had already risen. In attempting to raise Depressed Classes, there is bound to be some opposition from other classes, because it is inevitable that vested interests should be endangered to some extent. But you should never carry on your work in an inimical spirit. I am distressed to see the tension between the two communities in Madras and would advise them both to give up their attitude of distrust. As a Brahmo my sympathies are naturally with the backward and Depressed Classes, non-Brahmins and Untouchables."

Not idolators

Of course, Musalmans are not idolators. Therefore we disbelieve the following report coming from Moradabad :-

"On the Karbala there were vast crowds with some Tazias and music was in attendance. This was stopped by the police and eventually at Galshaid at the back of Pucca Sarai, the processionists when stopped, left the Tazias on the road, which blocked it. On being asked to clear the road, they declined to do so and began to assemble on the spot in huge numbers. After several warnings, the Police kotwal had the Tazia removed from the road to a close

place by the policemen. During this shifting, one or two faces of the idols on the Tazia were broken, whereupon a great fuss was made and alarming telegrams (in which, as usual, breach of peace by musalmans was threatened) were sent to the Government."

Work for Sir Sankaran Nair

LONDON, July 29.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer in a letter to the "Times" challenges Lord Olivier to prove his contention that Sir M.O'Dwyer's statement that "the traditional sectional hostility in India has been aggravated ten-fold by the political struggles of rival religious races to secure a power of place since the Reforms" has enormously exaggerated the influence of that factor. Sir M.O'Dwyer argues that the matter can easily be tested and invites Lord Olivier to secure statistics of deaths and casualties due to sectarian strife, firstly from 1858 to the end of 1919, and secondly form 1920 to 1926 when the Reforms were operating. Sir M. O'Dwyer desires to include the Molpah rebellion also.

- Reuter's Special

[The Liberators, 5 August, 1926]

The Viceroy's Great Interest in the Depressed Classes

At the request of Mr. V.R.Shinde, the veteran champion of the Depressed Classes, His Excellency Lord Irwin, accompanied by H.E. Sir Leslie Wilson Governor of Bombay and party, showed his sympathy by a visit to the All-India Depressed Classes Mission Society's chief settlement at Bhokarwadi in Poona City at 11 a.m., on Sunday the 1st of August. His Excellency and party were received at the Ahalyashram Home of the Mission by its Founder and Trustee Mr. Shinde. His Excellency the Viceroy and H.E. the Governor were shown round some of the institutions of the mission and were then directly led to the narrow typical byelane

at Bhokarwadi where Their Ecellencies saw how more than two thousand living beings were cooped in less than three acres. The Viceroy halted when His Excellency saw a naked child in her mother's arms and ascertained her age which was hardly a year. Mr. Shinde pointed out her as the "Poverty" of India. But the mother proudly said her name was "Lakshmi" which meant "Prosperity." Mr. Shinde told His Excellency the Governor that he was the first Governor to visit this typical and segregated area last winter, to which Sir Leslie Wilson at once rejoined Lord Irwin was the first Viceroy to visit it. His Excellency the Viceroy expressed his sympathy with and gratification at the work of the Mission under the able lead of Mr. Shinde and wished it all success. Their Excellencies were then thanked amidst the ringing cheers from the large crowd that had collected.

Adi-dravida Boys in Public Schools

Mr. R. Veerian, M.L.C., Coimbatore, has addressed the following to the Secretary to Government, Law (Education) Department Madras, as well as the Director of Public Instruction and the Commissioner of Labour, Madras :-

I have personal idea of Thiruvannamalai. I have seen several of the localities within Thiruvannamalai Municipal Council. For the past 2 months, there were about 50 Adi-Dravida boys reading in the Kilnathur Municipal Elementary Day School, Thiruvannamalai Municipality. Ever since the Adi-Dravida boys joined the school as reported to me by the reliable Adi-Dravidas, the non-depressed classes students have stayed away from attending the school owing to communal prejudice and to show superiority also at the same time. It seems the Municipal Council wanted to start a separate school for the Adi-Dravida boys. If this is a fact, it would not be right to start a separate school for Adi-Dravidas, because they sought admission. In this case I really do not see any real spirit of democracy. Separate schools, I can say in my humble opinion will do more harm than good. Unless the Adi-Dravidas are made to associate or

come into contact with the non-depressed class boys in the school life itself, the demon of untouchability will never be removed from this land. It will be worth nothing that in the Government Despatch of the 5th May 1854 (fourth year before the Indian Mutiny) the Court of Directors laid down the principle "that no boy be refused admission to a Government College of public school or institution merely on the ground of caste." According to G.O. No. 329 of 17th March 1919 this principle was again enunciated by the Secretary of State for India in 1863 and has since been repeated by various other authorities. Separate schools mean not only the separation of Adi-Dravida community always, but the principle quoted above will also be nullified, when we hear so much about Unity everywhere. The argument that the non-depressed classes or others hold in starting or proposing to start separate schools only on the admission of Adi-Dravida boys does not stand to reason and justice. The Adi-Dravidas are blamed so long as they do not send their children to public schools, and you can clearly understand the result after seeking, from the above. If all schools welcome the Adi-Dravidas, there is no difficulty at all for them to seek admission, and after seeking admission, they are being boycotted by the non-depressed classes. This is an insult to the entire Adi-Dravida community when the country is longing to get full responsible Government. I shall feel highly thankful if you will kindly make inquiries into the matter so that the non-depressed classes may not boycott the Adi-Dravidas. The same thing did occur in many places also.

A Night school

Under the auspices of Arundhateya Mahasabha Madras, a Night School for the Depressed Classes was opened by its President Mr. Guruswamy M.L.C., on 31st July 1926 at Choolai. A school was very much in demand here. There are two other schools conducted by this Sabha at Perambur and at Pulianthope respectively.

Untouchability in Bengal

The Hindus belonging to Gajendra Das Community of Satraphra have been agitating to make their water acceptable to the socalled caste Hindus (in a part of Bengal). Recently a liberal - minded Zemindar Babu Brajendra Narayan Acharya Chowdhary went to the village with some members of the "Hindu Hit Sadhini Sabha" who themselves set an example by drinking water served by some of the members of the Gajendra Das community. His discussions with the social leaders backed up by this action have created a very hopeful atmosphere.

MALVIYA THE CONJURER

Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya's magic wand has done wonders. The silver tongued orator, the eventempered politician had sung his sweetest tune recently at Calcutta. At Patna he had, temporarily, captured the hearts of even some of the bigoted Muhammadnas. But the Hindus were not quite satisfied with his performance. He went to Simla and had two lengthy interviews with the Viceroy. I surmise that the heart to heart talks had given Lord Irwin a true idea of the worth of the man.

Dr. Moonje, the typical Maratha warrior, followed suit and gave his sledge-hammer strokes which, while they challenged the Muhammadan fanaticism, imparted energy to the awakened Hindu mind. The Rahims and the Ghaznavies knocked at the door of the local bureaucrats, the unmerited condemnation of the Hindu leaders (Malviya, B.Chakravati and Birla) by the dejure President of the Congress and the three cornered leader of the local Swarajists, probably, helped them in their unlawful demand and the policy of helping the favourite wife asserting itself, the Chief Presidency Magistrate promulgated an order under Sec. 144 of the Cri. P.Code, prohibiting Malviya and Moonje from entering Calcutta for the next 2 months the period during which election propaganda would be in full swing. The Magistrate was so impatient to shew his partiality to

the Muhammadans and probably through them to the Swarajists, that he sent the order to be served on Malviya at Allahabad and on Moonje at Nagpur. It was surmised by the Rahims and the Ghaznavies as well as by the local bureaucrats that the mild, lawabiding, moderate Brahman would remain inactive under the insult and they would be able to score without fail.

But their hopes were dashed to the ground when the divine fire sleeping in the heart of the Brahman flared up and he became ready to bear all consequences. Pandit Malviya would not have, perhaps, paid the least attention to their puny jealous efforts if his individuality alone had been attacked, but this was an insult and a challenge to the Great Hindu Samaj of which he is the accredited leader and he was bound to take up the gauntlet. The Brahman wizard raised the magic wand and the veil was torn asunder from every good, bad and indifferent heart.

Malviya left for Calcutta. A united protest, the like of which was not heard for the last 3 years, went forth from the Hindu Mass Meetings like a peal of thunder. The mild, sweet, tempered Brahman was again enthroned in the hearts of the United Hindu Samaj. It led the Hindus to think of throwing their unessential differences of opinion to the winds. That is the first gain.

The second gain is that Lord Olivier's indictment of the majority of the Civil and other British Officers has been proved to the hilt. While the Muhammadan leaders can openly threaten Hindus and the Government alike through the press and on the platform with impunity, the Hindu leaders can be banned from entering places where the Police and the Military predominate, at the idlest threat of Muslims. Malaviya's magic wand has proved that while Lord Olivier's impeachment of the British Officialism in India was the truth, the vehement disclaimer of Lords Birkenhead and Reading was mere politics.

The third gains is that the Swarajists electioneering tactics have been completely shown up through the belated,

half-hearted and undignified opinions of the de jure and defacto Presidents of the Indian National Congress and their local representative set up by the great moral influences of Mahatma Gandhi as the lineal successor of Deshbandhu Chittranjan Das. It had been better for the Swarajya party if none of them had spoken.

The fourth gain is that the characteristic of the bull of British bureaucracy has been exposed in all nakedness. In order to restrain it in its mad carrier, it is necessary to take it by the horns. During the regime of Lords Chelmsford and Reading, the act of the veriest constable of Police, however illegal and highhanded, was supported to the bitter end. But is it not a wonder that having passed an order under sect. 144 Cri. P.C. with a flourish of trumpets and after getting it served on the banned calprit at Allahabad, at Asansole in the dead of night and at Bandel in the morning, Pandit Malviya was not arrested on his arrival at the Howrah Railway station nor was that arch-disturber of the public peace prohibited from delivering his address before a crowded house and when Dr. Moonje arrived at Calcutta on the 9th, he too was not molested ? To what is this wonder of wonders due ? To me it appears that this wondrous change in the mentality of the Chief Presidency Magistrate might partly have been the result of Lord Irwin's not negligible existence. There is no doubt that in order to save the face of local bureaucrats, Malaviya and Moonje have been served with summons under sec. 188 of the I.P.Code, but that very step taken by the Magistracy proves that in future a Magistrate will think twice before promulgating such an unreasonable order. A glimpse of Lord Hardinge is to be seen through a chink. This is splendid opportunity for Lord Irwin to point the way to impartial administration of Justice by warning his executive subordinates and putting his foot down upon all bureaucratic vagaries.

The adage prevalent in the Indian official circle, so far, has been - "The C.I.D. rules the I.C.S. and the I.C.S. rules the Viceroy." May the religiously minded Governor-

General of India reverse it and prove that - "Justice and Truth rule the Viceroy and the Viceroy rules the I.C.S. and C.I.D. both."

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Innings in a Cricket Match

Sec. 144 of the Cri. P. code has had an unchecked career since a famous lawyer of the U.P. was installed as Law Member of the Government of India. It has been put to uses which it was never intended to be put to and which require no other law to remain in existence. It were not necessary to have the machinery of Civil Courts at all if all the orders passed under that section during the last five years were legitimate or even fancied by the framers of the section. As at present interpreted it would enable the Magistracy to abrogate all laws and to abolish all courts. "Whereas etc., you are hereby ordered to pay within three days the sum of Rs. 500/- to abc." Conceive an order in these terms. Compare it with the order served on Pandit Malaviya. There is nothing legal to distinguish between the two. But anybody will exclaim "Oh it is unthinkable! it is absurd!" Yes, but an absurd thing does not cease to be a fact. Only those, who have intimate acquaintance with law courts, can have an idea as to the ausurdities of law. Indeed the test to be applied to any proposition is to stretch it to the logical extreme. And therefore we have put forward this extreme case. That will indicate what we shall have to face, if the career of sec. 144 Cri. P.C. be allowed to proceed unchecked. Owing to the Non-Co-operation movement, the Magisterial orders were never challenged in a legal way during all these years. Now that movement has been definitely suspended, it is time to make a test case. We are proud to say that a Hindu leader has taken it on himself to test the legality of a questionable order issued under that section.

It is well known that shortly after the Calcutta Special session of the Congress, an order was served on the late

Mr. C.R. Das who was the most eminent criminal lawyer of the day and definitely expressed that the order was ultra vires. It was, of course, not tested for the above mentioned reason. Now, so able a lawyer as Sir Provash Mitter has questioned the legality of the order served on Pandit Malaviya and has asked him to test it. The whole constitutional struggle in India has, hitherto, been carried on by Hindus and it is in the fitness of things that a characteristic Hindu leader should fight for this constitutional right. Pandit Malaviya stated so much in his letter to the chief Presidency Magistrate, in the words : "I submit that the legislature did not intend that a Magistrate should curtail the right of speech and action of any individual in the manner you have sought to do in my case by an order under sec. 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. In the circumstances of the case I consider your order to be both illegal and unjustifiable and I consider it my duty not to obey it."

Let Panditji's non-obedience be looked at this way and no other. It is not Satyagraha as it is popularly understood, neither Civil Disobedience. It is neither divine nor devilish. It is neither anti-Government nor anti-Muslim. It is a pity with the exception of the Muslim editor of the Bombay Chronicle, no Muslim leader has protested against such an illegal or at least questionable order. This fact only proves how true are Lord Irwin's words, that national life is being sapped by these communal quarrels. The leaders are hopelessly blinded to the increasing arbitrariness of the executive. It is a matter for pride that one of the oldest Congressmen has taken the first step to check the mad excesses of the executive.

Because Pandit Malaviya is a great Hindu leader, it need not be forgotten that he is a lawyer. Though he did not earn 'a thousand a day,' he did not give up his practice with a flourish of trumpets. He spent a very long period legislating in the old Councils and knows what the Criminal Procedure Code is. To make a test case is a legal right of every citizen. Even the statement Panditji made to the

A.P.I. representative shows that he does not wish to do a vainglorious act :- "It is a simple affair and I do not want any unnecessary fuss over it." The telegram he sent to Calcutta states "Please see there is no demonstration." Even in the short speech he made at the Howrah Station, he told people not to get excited and to leave him to deal with the matter.

As we said above, a lawyer like Sir Provash Mitter asks that a test case deserves to be made of this order. Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar of Salem is a lawyer with more than fifty years' experience and even he doubted the legality of several orders issued and, in this case, styles the order as "illegal and ultra vires". There is nothing in this order to gratify any real Muslim, except him whose Islam means hatred of Hindus. The monotony with which the Muslim Outlook, the Civil Military Gazette and the Punjab Provincial Muslim League speak is, of course, full of meaning. But that is only to be expected. This monotony blurts out the hidden truth rather uncannily.

The "Statesman" of Calcutta calls the order a "mistake" which has been "redeemed" by the conduct of Pandit Malaviya. The Allahabad Journal says "There seems to have occurred a blunder, colossal and almost unprecedented ..... The mistake may have lain in the issue of the original order." On merits, it will thus be seen that the authorities have no case even in the view of these unfailing friends of theirs. If it were only a "mistake," we should agree with the "Statesman" that it was redeemed by the action of Malaviyaji, because the proper course was to agitate for rectification. Besides being a "mistake," however, the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta is illegal and ultra vires. These two journals should, therefore, join those Indians who approve of Panditji's action in the interests of law. The "Leader" of Allahabad does not stand for the disobedience of legal orders and has, we are glad to say, approved it specifically and wholeheartedly. We hope the illegality would be proved and Magistrates would be made to understand law. We do wish to say before we conclude that a test

case be also made to show that the interpretation put on Sec. 296 I.P.C b the D.M. of Faridpoore is wrong. Let Government take these test cause as inning in a Cricket Match.

Editorial Observations
Sec. 144. in Behar

A Sub Divisional Magistrate in Behar and Orissa has chosen to prostitute his Magisterial powers by issuing an order under Sec.144. of the Cri. P.Code, prohibiting magic laptern lectures upon Babu Rajendra Prasad. The magistrate refers to the noncertification under the Cinematograph Act. Why on earth them, should the magistrate manipulate a provision of the Cri P.Code? The straightforward course would be to prosecute Babu Rajendra Prasad under the Cinematograph Act, but the magistrate has neither the courage nor the fairness to do so. As expected the Behari leader (he too, a Hindu) has pointed out the illegality of the order and has intimated his intention to disobey it by delivering lectures. We suggest that a member of the Legislative Assembly should move a resolution in the next session recommending that immediate steps be taken to repeal all laws at present in force in British India, leaving on the Statute Book the solitary Sec.144 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

A Great Worker

Today is the twelfth day from the demise of the pioneer worker in the cause of National Education in Maharashtra, Prof. Vishnu Govind Vijapurkar. He died on 1st August even on the day on which died Lokmanya Tilak whose ablest coadjutor he was for some time. Vijapurkar had a comfortable job in the Arts College of Kolhapur which he gave up shortly after the Bengal Partition and started the Samarth Vidyalaya at Talegaon (some twenty miles west of Poona). This institution was dissolved by an order of the Government of India, as it did not send unemployable to the market

of clerks or other parasites. It did not turn out blacklegs to undersell the graduates of the Bombay University and was declared an illegal institution. It remained in abeyance wellnigh seven years. Through the perseverance of Vijapurkar and the sympathy of the Servants of India Society, the institution was revived under the name "New Samarth Vidyalaya." The institution is working very well and is still not engaged in producing imitation graduates. It is still an institution of "National" education and, we hope and pray, will remain so and prosper.

Servants of India Society

The most recent and notable contributions to the Servants of India Society's Fire Relief Fund are Rs. 500 from Baron Irwin and RS. 500 from Lady Wilson. We wish Baron Irwin's donation works as the precursor of many another. Since we wrote last, the Fund has progressed well and we hope within a short time the second lakh will be oversubscribed.

The Metropolitan's Opinion

The most Reverend Toss Westcott Metropolitan of India said on arrival in Bombay by the last English Mail :-

"I find it hard to believe that the real cause of communal strife is religion. Those, who met at the Unity Conference in Delhi now nearly two years ago, pledged themselves to promote a spirit of tolerance and consideration among the followers of their respective religions. One must believe that they have conscientiously striven to do so and that the real reason for the present deplorable strife must be found elsewhere."

Extraneous

Even like the "Pioneer," Mrs. Naidu refers to Hindus of other Provinces than Bengal as 'extraneous' in that 'beautiful land.' Aligarh is not extraneous to Bengal nor Saharanpur to Ratnagiri, so far as Moslems are concerned. What about

Mrs. Naidu herself? Is the extraneous in Bengal or Bombay? or is she amphibious? If she is a Bengalee, let her go back to Bengal and fill the void in leadership in that 'beautiful land.' Bombay can manage her own affairs. Mrs. Naidu was in Africa for six months in 1924 and Congress machinery as well as City affairs in Bombay were working quite smoothly. And so they will, if she goes back to Bengal for good.

Music before Mosques

Mr. Qutbuddin Ahmad. Honorary Secretary of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League, writes in the course of a circular letter:-

The playing of music before mosques is of recent growth. The Musalmans used to ignore it altogether as a matter beneath consideration. It is to the Hindus a spiritual tradition to regard every sacred place of any community as an object of worship.

I humbly submit that the playing of music before mosques should not be a religious issue when people of other denominations are concerned. Our Holy Prophet (may peace be on him) himself allowed the playing of music inside the mosque during the Id Festival and asked Hazrat Ayesha to witness the same (Sahih Bokhari) He even received the non-Muslim delegation of Yemen in the mosque and allowed them to stay there. Khilafat Muslim in at Constantinople used to attend the Salani Alek Ceremony on Friday at the St. Sophia Mosque accompanied by Turkisy Bands. The Mahmel procession to Mecca was always accompanied by the Egyptian Bands. During the Moslem Rule Ram Lila used to be held in front of Jam-i-Masjid at Delhi and the Royalties used to gather at the mosque and garland the hero of the play. In Calcutta in a Mahomedan family musical marriage procession was started from a mosque even to this day and all other "akharas" visit the Mowlally Durga adjacent to the mosque and play music for hours together without any protest from any quarter.

Maulana Mazruhi Haque writes :-

Oh Muslims! why do you object to the Hindus playing music before your mosques? Do you really think that you are pleasing Allah by preventing His creatures form worshipping Him in their own ways? If Allah had thought in His wisdom that all his creatures should worship Him in one form. He would have decreed it so. No, if you think coolly you will find that God in his infinite mercy has ordained that His different peoples should worship Him in different ways. His works are displayed in diverse forms and patterns. They are not monotonous and yet they show His unity in all this diversity. Oh! be reasonable and listen to reason. Refrain from futile and irreligious obstructions and do not bring down displeasure of your God upon your head.

PAST and FUTURE

The following are extracts from the article contributed by Dr. Syed Mahmoud to the "Searchlight" :-

"At the time of the invasion of Nadir Shah Baji Rav Peshwa, the Mahratta leader, getting news of Nadir's arrival in Delhi, wrote in a private letter :- This is no time for internal disputes. It is the time for us all to forget our own quarrels and make up our differences. It is most impolitic and improper for Raghoji and myself to continue our mutual strife. We can very well for the time being disregard the Portuguese encroachment as they are a negligible factor. India's greatest and only enemy today is Nadir Shah. The Hindu and Mahomedans should unite together to expel this foreign foe so that the Mogul Government may not further be weakened and the country's freedom may not disappear.

Baji Rao started making the preparations for war and Scindhia and Holkar also joined hands with him, but in the meantime Nadir left the country. The practical wisdom of Baji Rao is in sad contrast with our own attitude to-day, when, disregarding the great national issues at stake, we are found engaged in mutual strife over trifles.

What a pity it is that we have fallen so low as compared with the patriotic fervour and the political wisdom of our predecessors of the time of Baji Rao, who regarded the Moghul Government as a national asset worth preservation by the combined effort of the Hindu and the Muslim to turn out the foreign invader.

Undoubtedly the vast body of the Muslim foreigners who came and settled in the country as the rulers did not either possess or represent the vastly superior spirit of Arab culture and tolerance; otherwise the good they did would have been a hundred times better. Take for instance the case of Mohamed Bin Kasim and the liberal terms be gave in the usual Arab spirit. He proclaimed that the Hindu "temples shall be inviolate like the churches of the Christians the Synagogues of the Jews, and the Altars of the Magiars." It was perfectly in keeping with the precedent established by the first Kahlif who after the victory of Hira and Ghanat, had permitted the Christians to take out their processions with music on all occasions and at all times without exception. The usual spirit of Islamic tolerance, as understood and practised by the Arbs themselves, was certainly not assimilated by the foreign hordes invading India from time to time through her north-west frontier, as their Islamism was generally skin-deep and their Afghan, Persian or Turkish national traits preponderated over their recently adopted religious propaganda but they were wholly planned with the object of securing material gain and glory to the tribes concerned.

India can have no prospects to rise to the full height of her manhood till her sons and daughters of all creeds and sects learnt to treat religion as a sacred domestic concern to be worshipped or exercised in the spirit of humility which alone is acceptable to the Creator and pleasing the creation. No religion is based on the foundation of hatred or calumny and none teaches its votaries to disregard neighbourly rights and duties. All separatist tendencies in one shape or another must be abandoned, otherwise the prevalent spirit of

suspicions and misgivings will deepen to the detriment of the country as a whole and therefore to the prejudice of every single individual who inhabits India."

The British Indian Officer

Lieut. General Sir George MacMunn, formerly Quartermaster General in India writes in the most Conservative Journal the "Daily Mail" :-

"In many places today the (British) umpire is at heart an enthusiastic supporter of one of the opponents. The British Official is not on the umpire's platform. It is easier than it was to throw a pig into a Moslem shrine or to slay a holy cow as a Hindu procession comes along, and we have forgotten that it was his incorruptible impartiality, amid the welter of conflicting creeds and races, that gave the British official his spell. The results of weakening that spell are apparent and it has made many who hoped for better things sore at heart."

Report on Calcutta Riots

The Riots Enquiry Committee appointed by the Indian Association, issued their report in the course of which, describing the Arya Samaj procession on April 2nd, the first day of the first Calcutta riots, the Committee declare that the Arya Samajists were not the aggressors and the actual assault was commenced by Musalmans who, not content with dispersing the procession in front of Dinu Meeah's Mosque, looted several Hindu shops and set fire to some. The report asserts that the Mahommedans persisted in their attempts to desecrate Hindu places of worship. The Committee allege that the incidents in connection with the riots show that the Police had some information at the beginning that trouble was apprehended, but did not take any adequate steps to prevent the first rising while the posting of a few armed Policemen near Dinu Meeah's Mosque where trouble was apprehended might have prevented the riots. In conclusion, the Committee state that

the conduct of the Calcutta Police was characterised by delay and vacillation.

Europeans visavis Educated Indians

In an article published in the "Nation and Athenaeum" Mr. Aldous Huxley who has travelled a good deal in India writes :-

"The only Indians you find them objecting to as a class are those who have received a Western education. The reason is sufficiently obvious. The educated Indian is the Englishman's rival and would be supplanter......... But no man loves another who threatens to deprive him of his privileges and powers. The educated Indian is not popular with the Europeans. It is only to be expected."

Outside India

Dr. Muthulaxmi M.B., C.M., an Indian delegate to the World Conference of women writes :-

"Another lady, an Australian delegate, remarked with a certain amount of concern in her tone, how can India hope to govern herself without the help of the English, when the Hindus an the Muhamadans are each quarrelling, when the Hindus are divided amongst themselves by so many castes and creeds, and when a certain proportion of the Hindu population are kept out as untouchables. Then this feeling came upon me, how a vast majority of our people are shorsighted enough to ignore the fact that we are brahmins, non-brahmins, Christians, Mahomadans, Panchamas, High-caste or low-caste, only within the borders of India, and once we get out of our little teacup, within which there is such a tempest heartache and quarrelling, we are to the outside world only Indians, and whether brahmins or Panchamas, we receive the same treatment at the hands of the white races. (Our culture is what appeals to them more than our religious or caste differences, two things which they know very little about.)

The Siamese Twins

The Modern Review of August 1926 contains two very remarkable articles on the question of Hindu-Muslim relations. One is by Ayube M.Edun of British Guiana with the heading "Siamese Twins" of India. It is written mainly as a reply to Sir Abdur Rahim's attempt to organise Musalmans virtually as a separate nation. "As a Muslim and as a lover of my religion" says Mr. Ayube "I should be failing in my duty of the country that gave my father birth if I said otherwise than that 'India is my first love and everything else comes after.' ....When Turkey found her lost soul in Mustapha Kamal there was no reluctance to shake off the dross of religious encumbrances and in her renaissance she declared 'Turk first and everything else after.' All obstacles became nil then and to-day the claims the respect of the entire world." The writer concludes with the one patriotic appeal "To Swaraj we must advance first and everything else may come after." The other article is by Maulvie Wahed Hossein M.L.C. Advocate Calcutta High Court on "Cultural Unity." There is a third very readable article on "The humours of our communalism." Our readers are aware that the Editor of the Modern Review has gone to Europe at the invitation of the League of Nations.

The Volunteer

The Volunteer of August 26 gives three pictures of Lokmanya Tilak and devotes to him a large part of it.

Sanskrit-English Dictionary

It is an irony of fate that Indians have to learn things through the medium of a foreign tongue. There is not, however, a greater irony than that we should have to learn Sanskrit through the medium of English. The irony is a fact, all the same and students require a Sanskrit-English Dictionary. The Concise Dictionary which Chitra Shala Press of Poona has brought out is a successful work and may be called cheap at Rs.4 containing as it does 1228 pages

of close though clear type. At the end there is a map of ancient India. The book contains two appendices, the first is a short Dictionary of Mythological biography and the second gives the list of meters with illustrations. We have no hesitation not recommend the book to students of Sanskrit in general and to students of Schools and College in particular. The Editor is a man of remarkable literary output with a lengthy connection with the educational line in Bombay Presidency.

Raja Mahendra Pratap

We have received from "Hindu Sansar Office" a copy of a Hindi book on Raja Mahendra Pratap printed in the "Rajendra Printing Press" Delhi and priced at annas ten only. The Raja is so wellknown and important a personage that the publishers have supplied an insistent demand. The Prem Mahavidyalaya of Brindavan is entirely built and conducted out of the princely gift made by the Raja. His generosity has been the basis of a Gurukul also. The Raja is now an exile but has got his home inn his countrymen's hearts. This little book will give some idea as to the life and work of this patriot. The book contains fourteen illustrations besides the frontispiece on which is to be found a likeness of the Raja himself.

[The Liberators, 12 August, 1926]

Order Against Malviyajee

Mahatma Gandhi writes in "Young India" of 12th August 1926:

Both Hindus and Muslims will commit a serious blunder if they consider that the serving of notice on Panditji and Dr. Moonje was an anti Hindu and pro-Mohammedan act. With the Government all is grist that comes to its mill. If to-day it is a distinguished Hindu who has been served with a notice,. it will be tomorrow an equally distinguished Musalman who will receive the same attention it the Government desires it for its own end.

Nobody is deceived by the declaration that the Government sincerely wants peace between communities. I venture to suggest that a real desire for peace between Hindus and Musalmans is wholly inconsistent with the desire to retain British rule in India by force of arms. When British Officials begin the work of peace between these two branches of the Indian family, they will have begun to live in India on sufferance. After all the discovery that India is governed by a "divide and rule" policy was made in the first instance not by an Indian, but if I am not mistaken, by an Englishman. It was either the late Allen Octavious Hume or George Yule who taught us to believe that the Empire was based upon a policy of "divide and rule." Nor need we be surprised at or resent it. Imperial Rome did no otherwise. The British did no otherwise with the Boers. By a system of favouritism they sought to divide the Boer ranks. The Government of India is based upon distrust. Distrust involves favouritism and favouritism must breed division.

There are frank Englishmen enough who have owned this fact. No serious student of Indian history can help rejecting recent declaration about peace on the part of the Viceroy or Governors. I am prepared to believe that His Excellency the Viceroy is sincere in his declaration. It is not necessary for one to impute dishonesty to high officials, if one is to ascribe a policy of "divide and rule" to the Government. The division policy need not be always conscious and deliberate. Musalmans against Hindus, non-Brahmins against Brahmans, Sikhs against both, Gurkhas against all three. This game of permutation and combination has gone on ever since the advent of British rule and will continue so long as the Government considers its interests to be antagonistic to those of the people or its existence to be against the desire of the people. Hence it is that Swaraj is a vital necessity for national growth. Hence it is that Mrs. Besant has stated, not without much force, that Hindu-Musalman unity is almost an impossibility without Swaraj and unfortunately we are having it demonstrated to us daily

that Swaraj is an equal impossibility without Hindu-Muslim unity, I am, however, optimistic enough to believe that unity will come in spite of ourselves, because I implicity believe in Lokmanya's motto, "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it." Where man's effort may fail, God's will succeed and His Government is not based upon a "divide and rule" policy.

Lord Irwin Solicitude

It is with gratification that we read of Lord Irwin's visit to the locality in Poona occupied by members of socalled untouchables classes. We hope he will do something to help those who have been making efforts to uplift these unlucky masses and invite his attention to the appeal issued by the Dalit Uddhar Sabha and published by us on 5.8.26. We also hope Lord Irwin will press the Secretary of State to sanction at least one additional seat in the Indian Legislative Assembly to which a representative of the unenfranchised six crores can be nominated. We have to bring to his notice the persistent refusal of the mediaeval Government of Delhi to give any representative to the Depressed Classes on the Municipal body in Delhi. Generally we find much less consideration shown to the interests of the Depressed Classes by the Government in the Northern Provinces than in the Southern. When during the period of the visit to India of the Prince of Wales, the bureaucracy wanted to make some show of a welcome to His Royal Highness, every inducement was given to them and all sorts of promises were made. That moment passed. Hindu-Muslim amity was cracked. And there came about a change in the Government's 'angle of vision' towards the unfortunate Members of the Depressed classes. Indeed it was when they found out how they were duped by the subordinates of Lord Reading's Government that their leaders approached Swami Shraddhanand. That is the story of the conduct of the "trustees" towards the most helpless class of His Majesty's Subjects in the Province of Delhi and partly in the Province of Punjab. We invite

the attention of H.E.Lord Irwin to the question relating to Council representation asked by a Muslim M.L.C. of Punjab and the answer given by Mr. Dunnett and ask him to consider whether the answer is in consonance with trusteeship.

Separate Schools

On more occasions than one have we stated that separate schools established only for pupils belonging to the socalled Untouchable communities will never remove untouchability. Last week we published the letter addressed by the most enlightened leader of those classes in Madras to the local Government and, it goes without saying, that we are in entire agreement with Mr. Veerian. More than any other factor, it is this demon of untouchability which is keeping us from Swaraj. Mr. Veerian hits the nail in the head when he says that in starting separate schools for Adi Dravidas "I do not see any real spirit of democracy." We go further and say it is the very negation of democracy. Mr. Veerian's complaint is not against the Brahmins alone but against all 'non-depressed classes. That the non-Brahmins are almost as keen on the prejudices was proved in the Bombay Legislative Council where a Musalman member had to point out that "it was unfortunate that a member of the non-Brahmin party who had come there with the support of backward classes should have opposed the Resolution" of Mr. Bole M.L.C. asking the Government not to pay grants to those local bodies who did not allow the Depressed Classes to make use of tanks, wells, Dharmsalas etc., built or controlled by them. "That showed" added the Musalman member "that the non-Brahmin party was not founded on very great principles when it refused to do justice to the poor Depressed Classes. The Hindus and Muslims in Sind had no such prejudices." The Resolution was carried in the Bombay Council with some amendment. We hope success will be won by Mr. Veerian in his efforts to secure admission to public schools for pupils of the Depressed Classes with caste-Hindus.

A Mixed School

In juxtaposition, we are happy to see that the Gujars, Rajputs and Jatavs (chamars) of villages Saboolee, Gokalpore and Benhta near Delhi across the Jumna, are to open one (mixed) school for the education of their children under the auspices of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi. A branch schools has already begun working at Gokalpore from 18th July. The Main School will be opened at village Sabooli and will, we hope, be a grand success.

An Unworthy Worthy

Ramanand Sanayasi, Secretary Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi, writes :-

"On the 9th instant Mr. Hassain Ali Khan, Honorary Magistrate of Khurja (District Bulandshahar) called all the Jatavas who inhabit the four Mahomedan Mahallas and threatened them with consequences if they would not embrace Islam. There was great commotion and stir in the city, but the local Secretary of the Sabha immediately took the situation under control. Tension naturally exists but every step is being taken to keep the situation under control."

Mahars and Temples

On 19th February 1926, there was a festival in a temple adjoining a village called Naigaon, in the District of Amraoti. It was attended by both Brahmins and non-Brahmins. While a Kirtan was in progress, some Mahars tried to enter the Pandal but were expelled by the Priestly Manager. They tried again but were again pushed out of the Pandal. It was suspected that one Mahadev was instigating the Mahars. On being asked who he was, he answered he was a Mahar and was attacked. A free fight took place, which is the subject matter of a Criminal Case.

Irrespective of Untouchability

On the De Lisle Road, Bombay, the opening ceremony of "The Mrs. Laxmibai Saheb Salunke Charitable Dispensary"

under the auspices of the Chinch Pokli Branch of the Hindu Mahasabha took place on Sunday 8th August. The late Mrs. Laxmibai took great interest in the medical relief of the poor irrespective of caste or untouchability. She was a great help to the Sabha and hence her name is commemorated in connection with this dispensary which will give medical assistance not only to Hindus-touchables as well as untouchables, but also to non-Hindus. Several speakers told the audience how great were the services rendered to the Depressed Classes by the late Mrs. Laxmibai.

Gujarat Vidyapith and Untouchables

The committee of Inquiry appointed in connection with the Gujarat Vidyapith have submitted their Report, in the course of which they recommend that the condition of admitting the socalled untouchables into all National schools should be rigorously enforced and that those affiliated institutions which show the least neglect in enforcing this rule must be disaffiliated.

At Robertsonpet

The Executive Committee of the Depressed Classes Mission Society met at Robertsonpet (Mysore) on 9th August. It is a matter for gratification that the Committee decided inter alia, to promote the temperance branch of the Society. Mr. C.D.Varadaraja Mudaliar has accepted the duty of conducting all business relating to this branch. No work could be of greater moment to the Depressed Classes that this. It is expected that the Diwan of Mysore will preside over the annual meeting of the Society. We hope he will give active and substantial assistance to the workers in this respect.

EXECUTIVE LIBERTINISM

The reply Pandit Malaviya gave to the Representative of the 'Hindustan Times' at Benares on 16th instant shows in what spirit he refused to obey the order served on him

by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. After saying that he intended to appear in person when the case would come up for hearing, Panditji told the representative that he felt quite sure of his ground and added "I welcome this opportunity to establish that Section 144 of the Cri. P.C. cannot be used to curtail the liberty of speech of public men." He quite understands the meaning of the Viceroy's interferences and therefore is not at all desirous that the proceedings should be dropped. Certainly the way in which the Section has been used by certain Magistrates is scandalous. They have virtually begun to believe that each one of them is in his District "King George plus Mr. Baldwin" combined into one. Anything inconvenient happens, apply Section 144 Cri. P.C. A Muslim Divine breaks an order issued under that Sectior cover up the failure to take legal proceedings by anothe order of a very questionable character under that Secti n. Even in issuing orders, the definition of certain things would not be given so as to leave it to an individual policeman to allow one person to carry a danda and deprive another person a cowherd, even of the stick which is necessary for his very duty of driving cattle. On account of communal troubles as well as individual bickering, the action of the meanest Government employee remained unquestioned. Magistrates did not hesitate to defeat legal rights of subjects. It may be an irony but nonetheless a fact that during the Viceroyalty of the Ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, the judiciary stood paralysed. So long as "Nonviolent Non-Co-operation" was the ostensible policy of the Indian National Congress, this paralysis of the judiciary was itself the strength of that policy. At Belgaum the policy was definitely suspended. Now it is not our interest to allow the judiciary to remain paralysed and certainly not after Pandit Motilal Nehru begins to give "advice in Chamber" regarding legal rights and a practising lawyer becomes acting Leader of the Swarajya Party and even aspires to preside over the Assam Session of the Congress. Even when Non-violent Non-co-operation was the ostensible

policy of the Congress, the Swaraj Party in Bengal had recourse to the judiciary to prevent the Bengal Government from committing a wrong. Now we see some indication that the High Courts are anxious to establish the authority of the judiciary. In England the judiciary allowed itself to be subordinated to the Executive for the period of the war. But with the case of "Art O'brien," the judiciary began to assert itself and since then the executive does not rush to curtail the liberties of subjects with the earlier lighthertedness. We in India also may hope that after this, the Magistracy will consider before they rush to impress Sec.144 of the Criminal P.C. into any service.

We emphasise what we said heretofore and in which Mahatma Gandhi and the Muslim editor of the Bombay Chronicle agree with us, that this case should not at all be looked at from the communal point of view. It is a case between the arbitrary executive and the selfrespecting subject. We know that politicians have not hesitated to make capital from the party point of view. That cannot be helped. We know that Swarajists have virtually supported arbitrary authority of recent, as e.g. when the "Leader" attacked Mr. Crossthwaite, the Swarajists organ of U.P. supported him. Mrs. Naidu does not condemn the Magistrate's order per se but only because Pandit Malaviya's speeches were innocuous, clearly suggesting that if they were not, she would have upheld the Magistrate's questionable order. Mr. Sen Gupta praises Pandit Malaviya only to have a hit at Mr. B. Chakarvarti and Mr. Khaitan. Even Pandit Motilal Nehru tries to make "party" capital out of the event. His gramophone suggests explicitly that Pandit Malaviya will cease to command admiration if he puts up a defence. It is not the right they care for. They praise only that part of anybody's action, which is in imitation of themselves. There is no room in their political or national ethics for admiration in spite of difference of opinion. Virtually therefore, they have supported the arbitrary activities of executive Magistrates. The true test of regard for rights,

is to maintain them, as Lord Justice Scrutton points out in the Art O'brien Case, even when you think a man obnoxious.

We have reason to hope that the judiciary will show greater regard for rights of the subject than our politicians. And we are glad one of the oldest Congressmen is going to test whether the judiciary are in earnest. The Magistrate's order, coming as it does between an interview with the Viceroy and another with the Governor of C.P., has a special gusto about it. The Calcutta High Court have not hesitated to upset a claim made by the Police in Calcutta for several decades. The Bombay High Court, the Oudh Chief Court, the Patna High Court are all showing some desire to assert the authority of the judiciary. Fearing the possible independence of the Sessions judge of Delhi, the Chief Commissioner has deprived him of some of his power. Who knows if the complaint eloquently made by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sastri in his Kamala lectures has not gone home to the minds of the highest courts in the land? Who knows if the contempt, with which the Privy Council decision regarding music on streets was trampled into dust by the executive Magistracy, has roused some righteous indignation amongst the judges of several High Courts? Whatever may be the causes, we find some chance of checkmating the rampant excesses in which the executive authority has been indulging of recent on account of the communal tension. Public life was disrupted. Let us pray and hope on the present chaos itself, public life will be able to make a stand against the onrush of executive libertinism.

BREAD BUTTER AND JAM

Lala Lajpat Rai has, in the interview he granted to the Daily Tej, allowed his dynamic intellect to get the better of his judgment. In regard to the "Sabarmati Pact" between "Swarajist Non-Cooperation" and "Responsive Cooperation with its emphasis on offices" (to adopt his own phraseology), he may be left to read the article published in the "People"

of 16th May, his own remark "Nor can pacts or paxes solve the problem" (vide People 15.8.26) and his own article on this question immediately after the Cawnpore Congress. As to Malaviyaji's non-obedience of the Calcutta Chief Presidency Magistrate's order, Lalajis may be asked to read the letter addressed by Panditji himself to the Magistrate's order, Lalaji may be asked to read the letter addressed by Panditji himself to the Magistrate on the eve of his departure for Calcutta. Where we have to join issue with him, is as regards the wrong lead he has given about the additional seats in the Legislative Councils for labour and the Depressed Classes. It may be the intention of the Government to have a few more progovernment members and Lalaji or any other publicist may legitimately codemn this attitude of the Government. But so long as nominated members are there in the Legislative Chambers, it is nothing short of the "Dog in the manager" policy to object to special nominees of the labouring or Depressed Classes. In fact the very "raison doe'tre" of nomination is to provide representation to those classes who cannot hope to succeed in electing their representatives for one reason or another. The theory of sympathy of the higher classes is now rather anachronistic and the record of the Indian National Congress in relation to the Depressed Classes is anything but favourable. There are educational institutions flying the flag "National" which do not admit Untouchable pupils on terms of equality with others : while we are finding Government able to give them that equality in Provinces where public opinion cannot be ridden roughshod as in these northern Provinces. In two Districts of Bombay Presidency, the threat given by Government to close schools has had its effect, while the Congress has to plead helplessness. The Bombay Legislative Council has on the motion of a non-Congressman supported by another non-Congressman passed a Resolution asking Government to refuse all discretionary grants to those local bodies who would not throw their Schools, Wells, Tanks and Dharamsalas open to Depressed Classes : and in the

Bombay Council the Swarajists are about a fourth. Not only is the theory of "sympathy" out-of-date, but is also incapable of being proved by facts.

The history of Indian politics is, however, a record of swallowing a camel and then straining at a gnat. You have Civil Servants sitting as Legislators. Then there have been nominated members who are to continue. All this is swallowed. But righteous indignation is roused when a few "additional" seats are created for the representation of the Depressed Classes. Nomination is avowedly an "expediency" arrangement. It is not a principle at all. We have, in this case, to be thankful that some of the seats open to election have not been set apart with a special electorate. An avowedly transitory arrangement is made to give some voice to the Depressed Classes themselves- not through sympathisers. Every true lover of democracy ought to welcome this decision as the best under the present anomalous circumstances. To oppose it is to support the diehard official plea that the educated Indian democrats care for their own interests only.

The specious suggestion that a few members belonging to the Depressed Classes may be put in by an arrangement has to be repudiated. The nomination of members does enhance the powers of Government Officers : but this evil will, by the suggested method, be only substituted by political intrigue. Until the Depressed Classes are educationally and economically uplifted, they are not going to have the pure metal. What does it matter whether the alloy is to be bronze or nickel, if alloy is inevitable? Nomination by Government has this advantages viz, that it is avowedly a makeshift and will ever remind the socalled highercastes of their duty as well as their failure to perform the duty by the suppressed classes.

All this love of principle is ostentatiously coming forward as against the dumb classes, while as against the more noisy violent classes, principle goes to the wall and consistency becomes the "virtue of donkeys." Certainly, you cannot find more suitable objects to be treated to "principles" than those

who are denied the veriest essentials of human existence! Who is more suitable to be denied a spoon of ghee than the man who cannot purchase a pancake?

This consistency and principle and democracy are preached by the same class of persons as would not hesitate to provide for special schools, special tanks or even special temples for the Depressed Classes. When it comes to making some transitory arrangement to give a little chance to their dumb voice being heard, all rhetoric will be commandeered to condemn it. To call such an arrangement "Special Representation" is either to exhibit ignorance of English or to conceal the "dog in the manager" attitude.

We do not support special representation correctly socalled, which can be only by elected members, for any class. But while it is conceded to the best provided classes and to classes armed with the favourable official bias, it is sheer heartlessness to deny it to those classes who are the least equipped and have not even the elementary essentials of human existence. We do no more support special or separate or special schools etc. We do not like these letter and have said so. But facts do not depend on our 'likes and dislikes' and we have to face facts. So long as we have to tolerate special schools etc. As a transitory measure, we are not going to sympathise with any attempt to deprive these dumb creatures of some chance of being heard simply because that chance can be mispresented as "Special Representation." There will be people who will object to coarse material being supplied to poor people on the plea that there may be a chance of such coarse material getting mixed with the fine material which they insist on having. We shall, in the face of these, support the supply even of coarse material until fine material is made abundant enough and cheap enough to be available to the poorest. The proper remedy is so to arrange the franchise in present as to make it practicable for - not necessary a proportionate number but - a not negligible number of socalled untouchables to be placed on the electoral roll. "Swarajist

Non-co-operation" has, however, come in the way of any popular demand being made for such a consummation, although the leader of this variety of "non-co-operation" has himself defined consistency as the "virtue of donkeys" and although we are having such demonstrations of principle as "Walk in at 11.39 a.m." "Walk out at 2.46 P.M.," and again "Walk in at 11.43a.m., the following day." It is surely desirable to give to the Depressed Classes "Bread, butter and Jam" at once. So long, however, as "butter and jam" is monopolised by the highercastes, we shall not object to "bread" alone being supplied for the time being and we shall not hesitate to condemn those as heartless, who do object.

Ancient Customs and Traditions

Even in the city of Bombay there are Brahmans who insist on behaving in a way against which Mr. Veerian of Madras has had to make a stand, which our readers have read in our last number. The Corporation of Bombay has made Primary education compulsory in the northern wards and all pupils irrespective of touchability or untouchability are taught in the same schools. The Corporation received a protest signed by several persons among whom Brahmins perponderated, stating that as they were religious people and were proud of their ancient customs and traditions, they could not like their boys and girls to mingle with those of Depressed Classes such as Dheds Mahars etc. and therefore there ought to be separate schools for the children of these classes. The protest concluded with the threat that if the children of the Depressed Classes continued to contaminate their children, they would be compelled to withdraw their children from the schools. These signatories belong to a ward in which the Congress organisation has claimed to be strong and to communities among whom the Congress is popular. When this protest was taken up for consideration, a member of the Congress party in the Corporation proposed that it be sent to the Schools Committee for necessary action or report. It was left to

two members not belonging to the Congress party to propose that the protest be simply recorded. This proposal was accepted by the Corporation in which less than a third is the Congress party. The signatories claim to be religious people and add that they are proud of their ancient customs and traditions. Verily these people live in Bombay and have given up every ancient custom which is good and their pride is now narrowed down to sticking to this heartless custom of looking upon the touch of a large part of humanity as worse than that of a leper. Do these gentlemen bathe every evening ? Do they keep all their clothes which they put on when they walk in the streets, entirely segregated from everything else in the house? Do these gentlemen not allow their boys and girls to travel in tramcar, trains etc.? Are these boys and girls not taken to Theatres, Cinemahouses? To live in Bombay and to talk of ancient customs and traditions of these signatories and their ilk to be ruled by an alien Government? Let us see whether the signatories prove as good as their word or their protest proves so much froth. The protest has been sent to the "Limbo". These pillars of religion must now start their own schools for their boys and girls. If they do that, there will be at least the saving grace of "paying" for their love of "customs an traditions." If they do not, theirs will be the joint badge of cowardice and selfishness. To these and others of their like we commend the following words of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, than whom there is no greater adherent of ancient tradition :-

"I love the Son of a Chandala as much as I love a Brahmin boy."

EDITORIAL OBSERVATIONS
Music Before Mosques

After Khwaja Hassan Nizami's condemnation of the Muslim agitation against and objection to music before mosques as "Unwarrantable," the compromise filed by Hindu and Musalman leaders of Buxar and confirmed by a Musalman

Sub-Divisional Officer containing the provision "Processions will pass off with music without stopping before a mosque or a temple," the passing of a grand procession with music on 8th August at Barisal with the acquiescence of the Musalmans under the leadership of Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hemayat Uddin through the street where the Rathajatra procession was opposed by Musalmans, and the decision was opposed by Musalmans, and the decision made in the Bungalow of Mr. Philpot (District Magistrate of Dacca) that the Janmashtami processions may pass on 6th and 7th September at 4 P.m. with music, we shall know whose prestige still comes in the way of the removal of restrictions on processions passing through public streets with music.

Separate the Functions

"Communal feeling has added constant load of care to their normal duties" pleaded His Excellency the Viceroy Baron Irwin on behalf of the executive officers. Elsewhere he maintained that impartiality always characterised the administrative decisions which officials had to make. We believe it will be accepted as a reasonable proposition that Indians do not accept the credentials of all officers in this respect. We do not suggest that all officers are biased. Quite a large number, a majority we dare say, are decent men. But it happens in every walk of life that a few can spoil a whole department. Honest men find it difficult to come together and assert themselves. Even the District Magistrate of Allahabad said that there were a lot of educated men in both Communities who were looking on "with silent dismay and disapproval." The Joint Conference of Hindu and Musalman leaders of Behar held at Chapra passed on 31st July 1926, a Resolution virtually incorporating a similar proposition. Let Lord Irwin note that a few arrant magistrates spoil the reputation of the whole system and expose it to the suspicion of partiality which has been testified even by an ex-Quarter-Master-General. This suspicion is only strengthened by the combination of the judicial and executive

functions in the same person. Lord Irwin can kill two birds with one stone, if His Excellency at this juncture relives the executive magistrates of their judicial duties. This will lessen the load of care which they have to carry. At least the judicial administration will be less exposed to charges of bias whether openly or covertly made. The fact that the acts of the executive officers will have to go the non-executive judiciary will enforce greater scrutiny in the acts of the former and the public will, also, not have as much cause to suspect as the present. Even a third bird will be killed by this same stone. Separation of the judicial and executive functions has long been demanded by the Indian National Congress and is even now demanded by the Liberal Federation. A necessary reform will have been effected and public voice will have been respected.

What about Delhi

While the Viceroy complains of overburdening of the executive officers, Mr. Stow, Chief Commissioner of Delhi acts in a way which shows that the District Magistrate of Delhi has not got work enough. It is notified that "with effect from 1st August 1925 appeals from orders of subordinate magistrates, passed under sec. 118 of the said (Cri. P.) Code,...shall lie to the District Magistrate and not to the ? Court of Sessions." This order clearly proves the reverse of Lord Irwin's complaint. Let us further point out to His Excellency that an order of this sort at the present moment is most injurious to the interests of the public if not objectionable by itself. The District Magistrate is not only the executive head of the District but also the head of the Police. What little chance there was of judicial check on and scrutiny of executive vagaries, has been removed by this order. His Excellency pleaded that Government were entitled to resent any suggestion of partiality against them. This order will only strengthen such a suggestion. This toy province has no Legislative Council and is legally administrated by the Government of India. We cannot help

saying that His Excellency will be allowing forces to be created to defeat his good wishes if this order is not revised.

Authority

Mahatma Gandhi says that the Ag. Governor of Bengal should have invited Pandit Malaviya and talked with him about the possible effects of his speeches on the population of Calcutta. We do not think Mahatmaji does not remember the notable saying of the late Mr. Gokhale that the tallest amongst us have to be stunted before the veriest pigmy of the British Bureaucracy. Mahatmaji must be remembering that when he was interviewed by Mr. Raja Gopalachar at Yerowda shortly after his incarceration, he had to stand inspite of the fact that even in public meetings he sat while speaking. He must have read in the newspapers that when Swami Shraddhanand, with whom Lord Chelmsford and Sir James Meston thought it a privilege to shake hands, appeared in the Court of a magistrate of Delhi to answer a criminal charge, his pleader applied to the Court to allow him a chair which the Court refused even though Swamiji is passed seventy. If consideration for Indians qua Indians were an item in the mental equipment of officers, ninety percent of the bitterness would not have existed in the relations between the people and the Government. If Lord Irwin cares for his religion more than the Conventional Brahmin, his Lordship may look into some of these things. It will not be sufficient in the interests of his own soul that he is decent in his own conduct. In the eyes of God, he will be held responsible for the conduct of all officers in the administration of India.

Absurd and therefore untrue

"A Marwari of village Siranchun, Taluka Sakrand, dressed his goodlooking son as a girl and sold him to a Bhaiband as the latter's wife for Rs. 400 and a Bava received Rs. 100 as brokerage." This is absurd and, therefore must not be a fact. We read that somewhere in Kenya an old

man of 70 committed an outrage on an old woman. The old man was convicted and awarded a good number of lashes besides a long term of imprisonment. We think it is absurd than an old man of 70 should have either the mental brutality or the physical nerve to outrage a woman, - certainly more absurd than that a Police officer should lose his balance and fire in a crowd of fifty. Therefore, we, living in Delhi, declare that, although a court may have held the event proved, it must not have happened.

Morals

We adopt the following little paragraph from the article "London Revisited" by Lala Lajpat Rai. Referring to the virtues and vices of people in London, Lalaji says :-

"As a rule in their dealings with one another the people are truthful, honest, frank, courteous and obliging. Their standards of neatness and cleanliness are also sufficiently high. The sense of patriotism is lofty. The sense of national and public duty is equally elevated."

We commend this to our readers and ask them to introspect. In doing so, we do not forget that Kitchlews and Kidwais will say we are anti-Muslim. They cannot deter us from commanding this object lesson to our brethren.

Impartiality in Hyderabad

We are very pleased to note that a large number of primary schools in the Hyderabad State are closed and especially pleased to note that amongst the reduced schools there were many for girls and for the depressed classes. We commend this to the Egyptian lady who is in India.

Impartiality in Sindh

The New Times of Karachi writes :-

"The Hindus of Jalbani village (near Bhiria) had applied to the Collector of Nawabshah to give them some land at Bhiria so that they may leave Jalbani and settle there because they said they were being troubled by Muslims of that village.

The Collector has refused to entertain their application saying they have no cause for migrating." Quite right. Moslems are a 'virlie' people, says many an official. How can virility of one people be proved except in the close vicinity of a "non-virile" people ? After all were cannot have 'rivers of blood' unless a large number of human beings are available to give it. We have had it on the authority of an Anglo-Indian journal that it is a special safeguard necessary for the Imperial race that a hundred native lives should be taken for one Imperial life. These threats of "rivers of blood" are a safeguard perhaps necessary to the virile Musalmans.

Impartiality in Delhi

It goes without saying that the administration of Delhi is absolutely impartial. We read in the "Hindustan Times" of 17th instant a translation of an article published in one of the Musalman journals of Delhi. We find therein very choice sentences : "Each and every child of these Kaffirs is today, more than ever, thirsty of the blood of Musalmans. These tyrants with the blunt knife of cruelty and oppression want to cut the throats of the sons of Islam." We should like to know from the local Government of Delhi (whoever that may mean) whether these are expressions that are allowed in Delhi or, like the speeches delivered in the Special Khilafat Conference, are allowed to the Musalman publicists as a safeguard necessary for their special interests in this country.

The Congress in Sind

As Pandit Malaviya has taken a courageous stand against official excesses, so, we are glad to find, have the Congressmen of Sind raised their voice against the prosecution and punishment of Pir Gulam Mujadid (one of the accused in the famous Karachi trial of 1921). The Magistrate had a work against the Police Officer who did a legal thing in an offensive way and deserves felicitation for it. Be it noted that Hindus form the very great majority

in the Congress organisation of Sind. We are also glad to find that unlike the Musalmans of Calcutta, Hindu members of Karachi Municipality joined hands with Muslim Members in voting an address to M. Mahomed Ali against the opposition of Mr. Price.

Monstrous

Earl Winterton used the adjective "Monstrous" in connection with the accusation that British Officers fomented Communal troubles in India. We submit that this adjective "Monstrous" was more fitted to that part of the speech in which his Lordship suggested that the present tension provided an opportunity to the Indian leaders to show how they would meet such a situation in swaraj. On that day there will not be the third party who will be pleased at the "progressive disintegration of the Swaraj Party" and will regard the mutual animosity of the Hindu and Musalman Press as "improvement in the tone of the Press." These quarrels have occurred simply because the leaders of neither community are responsible for the maintenance of peace and do not posses the reality of power. Give them real power and then put this problem to them. It is "monstrous" for the Britishers to deny the leaders any real power and to ask them to solve the problem. It is like the Court of Wards keeping all property of a young heir in its control, informing Banks that his cheques should not be honoured and then asking him to carry on "export import business," to prove how he would meet a possible crisis in future.

Lord Birkenhead the Offender

Mr. B.J. Desai, who for some time was Advocate - General of Bombay, said in his discourse at the C.J.Hall on 14th August :-

"From the highest to the lowest the people who governed Indians fomented their differences more or less and if the speech delivered by Lord Birkenhead had been delivered by an Indian politician, he would well have been

prosecuted for fomenting difference. Although I am aware that Lord Birkenhead had argued his speech well, it could still come within the purview of speeches which were called seditious in this country."

We go further and say that every collector, every S.D.O, every Tehsildar and every magistrate who spoke about different communities in different tones is a worst offender against sec.153A. It is the acts and words of these officers that give the greatest provocation to members of either community. A single inconsiderate word of an official leads do a riot and not ten illworded public speeches of popular speakers.

God and Priest

We wonder whether Lord Irwin can appreciate the full meaning of an Indian Proverb, if we render it into English in the words "What God is pleased to grant is defeated by the priest." That proverb precisely explains the present situation in India. Lord Irwin wishes a real understanding between the warring communities in India and also the restoration of civic life. We read expectantly the following words in his speech of 17th August to the Central Legislature:

"I am not so sanguine as to think that the temper of the whole communities can be changed in a moment. Time is required to lay its healing hand on the wound that is wasting our civic life." What is the use of such beautiful expressions, if Lord Irwin will not restrain his subordinates from preventing time from doing its healing work? What he seeks to give is being withheld by his understanding, (Mr. Howe being a glaring instance) for whose mistakes and commissions he is responsible. Here is what the Muslim editor of the "Bombay Chroncile" which has since the year 1915 been a definitely Promoslem organ, says :-

"When the leaders redoubled their efforts for peace and had a fair prospect of success, here are meddling and muddling officials spoiling the chances of success. We shall

estimate the earnestness of the Viceroy more from the action he takes than from the mere expression of his sentiments in praise of communal harmony."

Then take the opinion not of a rabid nationalist organ but of the Ministerialist organ of Madras. On 9th August 1926 "Justice" writes :-

"From the very day the communal disturbances started in Calcutta, the authorities have been bugling and blundering at every stage, with the result that the leaders as well as the rank and file of both the communities are furious..... So far as the Hindus are concerned, this distrust, we are sure, will only grow all the more." If Lord Irwin will learn nothing from these expressions of opinion (not of Hindu extremists) and will simply keep on watching anxiously for the leaders of the people to undo the mischief, on the assumption that his subordinates are all seraphim and cherubin, we have no hesitation to tell him to prepare for a long term to serve in another place before going to the celestial world. We say once again that Lord Irwin has to decide whether he will follow the example of Lord Chelmsford, or of Lord Ripon and Lord Hardinge. Nonaction on Lord Irwin's part will only broaden the gulf between his sentiments and the actual state of things in India.

[The Liberators, 19 August, 1926]

THE EMANCIPATION OF HINDU WOMANHOOD

II.

(The first article of this series appeared in the Liberator of 6th May, Vol.1.No.6.)

At the end of the first article of this series I said :- "Let 'Swayam Vara Vivah' (marriage by choice) be the order of the day and as freedom of choice for a girl under 16 years of freedom of choice for a girl under 16 years of age is meaningless, let the Hindu community, as a whole, decide to treat marriage of underage girls null and void. It is the only way of giving relief to the womanhood of India and at the same time saving Hindu families from the undesirable interference of the Police under the provisions of the age of Consent law. Honour Hindu Motherland and you will escape the dishonour of being a weak and slavish community."

No Hindu can deny the authority of the Vedas nor that of the Up-Vedas which confirm and elucidate the teaching of the Vedas. Every Veda is commented upon by an Up-Veda. The Ayur-Veda is the Up-Veda of the Rik. It literally means the Science of Life. The author of Sushruta, a branch of Ayur-Veda lays down the lowest proper age of marriage. He says :-

पंचविंशे ततो वर्षे पुमान् नारी तु षोडशे।
समत्वागत वीर्शे तौ जानीयात् कुश्लो भिषक्।।

In the eyes of a doctor of the Science of life (a medical man) the marriage of a man 25 years old with a woman 16 years old, when their generative power is equal, is auspicious." But

ऊनः षेडश वर्षायामप्राप्तः पंच विंशतिम्।
यद्याधत्ते पुमान् गर्भं कुक्षिस्थः स विपद्यते।।
जातो वा न चिरंजीवे जीवेद्वा दुर्बलन्द्रियः।
तस्मादत्यन्त बालायां गर्भाधानं न कारयेत्।।

"If a girl under 16conceives of a man under 25 she very often miscarries, but if she does not miscarry and the child is born, it does not live long and yet if it does live long, it is nothing but a weakling, therefore, never should a man have sexual intercourse with a girl of very tender age." The Hindus gave up the observance of this salutary course of conduct centuries back and the result is an overwhelming number of unconsummated childwidows the existence of a majority of whom is a blot upon the Hindu Society. The evils of childmarriage and the iniquity of enforced widowhood are becoming acutely patent day by day through the efforts of the conductors of 'Rescue-homes for Hindu women' and the unhappy lot of the Hindu widows is now attracting the sympathy of even the illiterate masses. Remarriage of girls widowed in childhood is being encouraged, but the progress of relief is being encouraged, but the progress of relief is very slow. Statistics, collected by Sir Ganga Ram's VIDHAWA SAHAYAK SABHA and obtained by me through other sources show that the number of widow remarriages seldom rises above 400 in a month. But there are about 4 lakhs of widows between the age of 15 and 20 years who ought to be married at once. At the rate at which we are working, it would take about 40 years to give relief to all, and by that time the number of widows above 15 years of age would have risen to another 4 lakhs.

In my tours during the year 1923-1925, throughout

almost the whole of India, I found 95 percent of orthodox Hindus ready to give relief to the widows according to the Apaddharmas (आपद्धर्म) of our Shastras but the grip of orthodoxy in the person of 5 percent of Brahmans and their misguided being followers blocks the way of reform.

How is this obstruction in the way of reform to be removed? It is by meeting the orthodox Pandits on their own ground (authority against authority) that relief can be given to the lakhs of Hindu motherland and thus save the Community from decay in numbers and morality. Fortunately a new worker in the cause of reform gives me an opportunity of meeting the objections of those who block the way of reform by quoting disjointed texts. Mr. G.N.Akadas writes from Sirsi (Kanara) :- "I have pleasure in informing you that at the request of some of my friends, who have got daughters widowed at an early age by being married to old men, I want to undertake the widow remarriage propaganda. Our Community of Havyaka Brahmans is a portion of Panch Dravids. They abound in South and North Kanara Districts, Mysore, Coorg &c. The number of widows is increasing on account of marriage of girls of tender age with old men. It has risen to such a height that even our Dharmagurus of Suvarnawalli and Ramchandrapur matts, by whom we are directed and governed in religious matters, are unable to help us. I ordered for the collections of Shastric texts on the remarriage of high caste Hindu widows, written by M.V.Joshi Esqr., of Poona, published in 1910 and the 'Widow's Cause' Magazine for March 1925 and gave these to the people to read. A well-known gentleman, after reading these books, has put down the following questions promising to take an active part in the movement if he is satisfied with proper replies. The questions are :-

1. It is an admitted fact that the generation of progeny by brother-in-law i.e. Devarensutotpatti (देवरेणसुतोत्पत्ति) or what is technically known as "Niyoga (नियोग) is prohibited in Kaliyuga. If so, then what sanction is there in Shastras for widow remarriages after such

a prohibition of Niyoga (नियोग)?

2. What arguments can be advanced for the facts that the slokas recommending widow remarriages were not written at the time the Niyoga (नियोग) system was in vogue ?
3. As the Gotra is changed after "Saptapadi" (सप्तपदी), which of the two gotras should be adopted at the time of remarriage ? What are the authorities for your contention ?
4. A giver or Data (दाता) is necessary at the time of remarriage. Who is Data (दाता) ?
5. If it is held that paternal relations are the givers, what authority is there in Shastras for this ?
6. What is the system that is Vidhi (विधि) of marriage to be adopted, and what is the procedure i.e. Prayoga (प्रयोग) for it ?
7. Why have the Shastras not permitted any other class of sons (such as Pounarbhav पौनर्भव and so on) except Ourasa (औरस) and Dattaka (दत्तक) classes only for Panch Dravids and Pancha Goudas.

I request you to, kindly, answer these questions in a way that we could understand, for which act of kindness and sympathy towards the cause of our widowed sisters, I shall ever remain grateful to your Holiness and also hope to secure every possible help and sympathy from the public on seeing the convincing answers."

Instead of sending a personal reply to the private letter I have thought it proper to give it a place in the "Liberator" so that the message of Vedic Dharma on the question, can reach all who are interested in changing the ideas of those who have conscientious scruples in allowing their child widows to marry.

The first question takes it for granted that Niyog alone was allowed in the previous (i.e. Sat, Treta and Dwapar) Yugas; and when that was prohibited in the Kali Yuga, widow remarriage cannot be resorted to without express sanction of the Shastras.

In the first place it should be borne in mind that the first authority for all virtuous actions (Dharma) is the Shruti or Veda. Says Manu :-

धर्मजिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः।

And again -

वेदोखिलो धर्ममूलं।

1. "For searchers after true religion, the final authority is Shruti or Veda.
2. "The complete Veda is the root of true religin."

The Vedas make no distinction between Niyoga and remarriage of widows. It simply allows the option of remarriage to widows in times of distress if they are unable to restrain their natural sexual desire for progeny. Only one text will suffice with English translation of Sayanacharya's commentary, whose authority no orthodox Sanatanist can deny.

उदीर्ष्व नार्य भ जीव लोकं गतासुमेत मुपशेष एहि।
हस्त प्रास्य दधिषास्तवेदं पत्युर्जनत्वममि र्सबभूथ।।

"O Woman! thou art lying with the dead body of thine husband. Get up from near this, and think of living persons and attain this man with (जाया भाव) the feeling of a wife, who desires to remarry thee."

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

ELECTION AND THE CONGRESS

When we said some weeks ago that the Swaraj Party should stand out of the field of "Elections," we were found fault with by some of our contemporaries. We were alone then. Now, however, we find others erring with us. The U.P.Provincial Congress Committee has recommended that the Congress should not have anything to do with the elections. And Lala Lajpat Rai has, in his forceful manner, put before the public precisely the position taken up by us. He has not stopped with words. According to a message dated Simla Aug. 25, Lala Lajpat Rai attended the Assembly after resigning the membership of the Swaraj Party and was

cheered "when he took his seat on one of the back benches of the Independent Party at 12.30 P.m." He is fresh from England and holds the view that the most competent and most trustworthy men of all the communities should be elected for all legislature and particularly for the Assembly.

Lala Lajpat Rai, again, is not a solitary knight in making this proposal. A requisition signed by more than thirty members of the A. I.C.C., which is likely to have more signatures, is to be handed over (perhaps it has been handed over by now) to Mrs. Naidu. The object of the requisition is that a special meeting of the A.I.C.C. be convened to consider the desirability of the Congressmen keeping aloof from the forthcoming elections. The requisitionists ask "a special session of the Indian National Congress" if necessary. Whether our advice will or will not be acceptable to the powers that be in the Congress domain, we have the satisfaction that we have quite a good number of leading mean with us. We hope and pray that Lalaji may succeed in his attempt. We are glad to understand Pandit Malaviyaji is with Lalaji.

As we have a request to make to the de jure and de factor presidents of the I.N.Congress, we have a request to make to Pandit Malaviya. Opposed as we are, under the present circumstances, to the Indian National Congress running elections, we re vitally opposed to the Hindu Mahasabha participating in the elections. The conduct of several subordinate branches of the Hindu Mahasabha is not only against the constitution but is also against the spirit of the Resolutions of the last (Delhi) Session of that body. We were going to express our disapprobation of their conduct in a rather tangible way, when came the dishonourable order inspired by the Hon'ble Mr. Birley against Pandit Malaviya, demanding a united front on the part of all workers of the Hindu Mahasabha. We emphatically deprecate any participation by the Mahasabha in the elections and ask Pandit Malaviya to disown and to try to prevent such illconceived participation. We conclude with a reiteration of what we

said a few weeks ago that voters should give their votes to men of strong moral character and efficiency, irrespective of any highsounding label.

Editorial Observations
Righteous Conduct

To,

The Editor of the "Daily Tej."

Sir,

You have asked me for a message for the Krishna number. I am a Muslim while your readers will be Hindus, and our two communities are now at logger-heads because they are following "religious", turning their backs on true religion which is one for all and which (as the Quran teaches) is shown in one thing only : righteous conduct. Until we judge men by their conduct instead of by the creed which they profess, applauding the good and blaming the bad of all communities, we shall continue to go astray from the religion of the Lord of all of us, who is no partisan, there will be no unity, and strife and every kind of evil will increase among us. Therefore I wish for the Hindu community precisely what I wish for my own community : that it may return to the straight path of true religion and become renowned for righteous conduct and enlightenment.

Your etc.,

Md. Marmaduke Pickthall.

We have borrowed the message of Mr. Pickthall, editor of the Bombay Chroncile from October 1920 to July 1924, who was prosecuted and persecuted by Sir George (now Baron) Lloyd, the late Governor of Bombay. We are unable to understand what he means by his "community." Mr. Pickthall, our readers should note, is an Englishman, By the bye, if conduct be the only test according to Quran, why is Maulana Mahomed Ali so keen on converting Mahatma Gandhi ?

Rotten Egg

We have to risk being in the minority of one in saying that the withdrawal of the cases against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Munje is an undesirable thing. We were at one with Panditji in not being anxious to have the proceedings dropped. We wished the point to the tested once for all whether Sec.144 Cr. P.C. was enacted for helping the executive to do or prevent any thing according to their sweet will. In two provinces the section was abused and in both the Magistrates had to eat an humble pie. The explanation issued in connection with the case of Babu Rajendra prasad only aggravates the wrong and the failure of the attempt to cover the shame adds ludicrousness. In this affair the only thing than remains to be done is to award "C-I-E" to the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Giridh. But in Calcutta the present Home Member, who alone was the real author of the "Series of blunders" as the "Statesman" euphemistically called it or the "series of calculated insults to Hindus" as we know it to be, deserved a rotten egg. And he would have had it. Pandit Malaviya is not one of the cocksure men and expressed that he was sure of his ground. The Hon'ble Mr. Birley submitted to the orders of Lord Irwin because the found the Calcutta High Court was not going to "kowtow" before him. The plea put forward for withdrawing prosecutions, by that nincompoop, for designation called "Standing Counsel" (we wonder if he has any qualification except skin), is hard to beat even in the field of burlesque. Sir Hugh Stephenson's performance in connection with "Pabna" or Mr. Birley's feat about the use of police force shades before this.

Humour or Satire

Probably Maulana Abdur Rauf is versed in-is it humour of Satire? The Editor of "Hablul Matin" who, to all reports, is an alien was deported by the Government of India. This, according to the learned Aalim, proves Lord Olivier's Charge

to be false. Although the law applicable to Musalmans may be different from that applicable to Hindus according to Mrs. Naidu, we cannot make out whether the learned Aalim means his own peroration as a piece of humour or a performance of Satire. Why does he not say that punishment of Miran, who, by the bye, called the Police 'cowards and liars, 'disproves Lord Olivier's charge? Why? every Musalman prisoner in any jail disproves that charge according to this theory! Will Maulana Abdur Rauf stand the full implication of his theory? Lord Olivier's charge is that there is a predominant bias in favour of only such Musalmans as will be a make weight against Hindu Nationalism. Some Musalmans have not the favour of Officers inasmuch as they are either prosecuted and convicted or deported. The only possible inference is that they are not willing to work as make weight against Hindu Nationalism. The converse of this inference is that every Musalman, who is not willing to work as makeweight against Hindu Nationalism, is liable to be prosecuted or deported by the Government of India. In this there is nothing new. Mr. Jinnah was virtually deported from Hyderabad. We should not be surprised if Miss Zakia Suleiman is one day deported. If Zaghloul Pasha asks to come to India, we shall be surprised tolerant that the Government of India give him permission. The case of Hablul Matin does not prove the reverse of Lord Olivier's charge, but on the other hand supports the proposition of the Mahatma that "all is grist to the Government that comes to its mill." The reply to this editor from that quintessence of anti-Hindus bias, otherwise called Mr. Birley, should set all doubt on this point at rest.

The Plastic Hindu

BY. T.L. WASVANI

Seeley in his famous book "Expansion of England" wrote no more significant sentence than this :- "Subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration." This is true of India as, perhaps,

of no other country in modern history. The practical question is :- how to release the force of regeneration? Hindu society must be reborn into shakti. Devitalising customs, physical weakness, sectarianism, superstition, - every thing that impairs our strength must go. Recently, a Hindu in Bengal, it is reported, sacrificed his own child 9 years old as an offering to the goddess Kali ! Superstition and evil customs are eating into the vitals of Hindu society. Social efficiency is essential to the advance of Hindus. And social efficiency calls for removal of social evils and all those habits and customs which stand in the way of progress. About half a century ago, Japan was a backward country. Then came the thought to some patriots that Japan must become a great nation. And they realised that to be great, the Japanese must break away from customs and habits which were a bar to progress. Japan had the courage of its convictions. Japan recognised its life. Japan built up its manhood. But India ?

The Ideal has been neglected by the nation. And while we gather 'Knowledge' and talk 'metaphysics' and 'spirituality', we have been retreating more and more from life.

With every such retreat, there is loss of manhood. When will the idea grow that the essence of spirituality is not caste or creed but Character, courage, Manhood ?

A German critic made a shrewd observation when he said with reference to the British rule in India :- "The white man came as a god. What made him a god? The fact that his military forces, though otherwise weak, were organised - and his masterful will. Thus he imposed his domination upon this plastic people like a seal upon soft wax." The Hindus have long been "plastic" : what is needed is courage, masterful will.

Gurukula Silver Jubilee Deputations

Gurukula University Hardwar is going to celebrate its Silver Jubilee in March 1927 after having completed 25years of its useful existence. It is a truly National University and

it has ever been its aim to infuse in the students a sense of the glorious past and future possibilities of India. It lays special emphasis on Brahmacharya, the secret of the greatness of our ancient sages. It provides for the students a wholesome atmosphere, physical, intellectual and spiritual. Living and moving in such a healthy environment away from the din and dirt of cities, they grow up to be fit citizens and prove an asset to their country. The medium of instruction being Hindi, students come to possess a through grasp of the subjects they study. This University provides special scope for the study of Ancient Indian History and Vedic Literature. It turns out every year an inspired band of graduates, most of whom dedicate their life to the cause of humanity and service of motherland. Such an institution deserves generous support from all who are interested in National education and national awakening. The unprecedented floods of the year before last have caused very serious damage to the institution and necessitates a change of site. Moreover it is intended to secure a RESERVE FUND of ten lacs in connection with the Jubilee celebrations, in order to set this unique institution on a permanent footing. Deputations are being sent all over India to collect subscriptions. Principal Rama Deva is going to Calcutta. Professor Satyaketu and Professor Gopal Dass and Sethiji are leaving for Behar and Orissa. Professor Vishwa Nath and Professor Satya Vrat are proceeding to Sindha and Baluchistan. Several other deputations are also being arranged. I earnestly appeal to all who have the welfare of India at heart to respond to the call in a most generous way and give practical proof of their sympathy with the aims and methods of the Gurukula University.

BISHAMBHAR NATH
GOVERNOR
Gurukula University Kangri
HARDWAR.

Special Tej Number

We have received the special number (in Urdu) issued by the Editor of the Tej in honour of the anniversary of Lord Sri Krishna. It contains two big pictures and a very large number of articles from illustrious men including Romain Rolland, Mahatama Gandhi, Mr. Lansbury M.P., Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Andrews, and Sj C. Vijiara ghavachariar. It contains too many good qualities to be mentioned in the short space we can afford. We must congratulate the editor on his adventure. The issue is damp cheap at annas four only..

Let Hindus Learn

Colonel Wedgwood spoke in the House of Commons on 20th July :-

The Musalman has always been the more virile race : the Hindus has always been the less virile race....the cure for that is that the Hindu should become more virile... We have an instinctive admiration for the virile character of the Musalmans......Let the Hindus learn the lesson. It is well that Pandit Malaviya should train the Hindus in physical exercise and physical drill, should inspire them with a capacity for self-defence, should exterminate that slave-mentality and create self-respect. He is not thereby increasing their hatred towards the Musalmans or their love or massacre to which we have become accustomed in India. I must regard the present disturbances as a calamity delaying the march of freedom, but not destroying hope... What is possible is that both sides shall begin to respect each other and that they shall learn what we have learned that a man who cannot defend himself is always likely to be in a difficult position.

Special Representation

The Colonel said in another part of his speech :-

The only way to get Labour or the Depressed Classes safely represented on the Legislative Council or in the Assembly is by a reduction in the franchise so that they

may have votes like any other citizen of the common wealth. That is the real safeguard. Special representation may mean nominated and undesirable representatives to the Councils. Unfortunately such representatives are not impervious to more direct temptations. Give me the British system in which all men are represented on an equality and you have the best safeguard for Labour and for oppressed peoples. Meanwhile I do think it is possible to act upon the report that there bodies on the strict understanding that such representation should not continue after the constitution should not continue after the constitution is altered and that no permanent steps will be taken to introduce any more sectionalism.

Communal Troubles

In another part, the gallant Colonel said :-

"It is said that we are profiting by these communal struggles and therefore, do not stamp them to the best of our ability. It would not be in human nature if the British administration in India did not sometimes chuckle before a communal disturbance among the people who were previously determined to remove that Administration."

- Extracts from Hansard.

No Malignant Desire

On the eve of his departure for Jubbulpore, Dr. Munje said to the correspondent of the "Hindusthan Times":-

"Some say that when a mistake is committed and there is no desire to own it frankly, several mistakes have to be further committed to cover the initial mistake. Who knows the issuing of the summons may not eventually fall into this category. My conscience is clear. My activities were not and shall never be inspired by any malignant desire to harm any of my countrymen, though so long as life bides in me, I shall do all in my power to strengthen and inspire my Hindu brethren to defend their womenfolk and temples, if they be not also able to secure immunity from head breaking, against the muslim rowdies."

HOME RULE FOR INDIA

BY GEORGE LANSBURY M.P.

Many years ago, sometime between 1876 and 1880, it was my privilege to hear an address on India delivered by the late Henry Fawcett, at that time Member of Parliament for Hackney. Later on we called him the Member for India. The facts and figures, the plea for freedom and toleration which Henry Fawcett made, forced me, then a young man in my late teens, to take up the study of Indian questions in a fashion which was quite unorthodox. All my old conceptions of the 'beathen' in India were soon blown sky high. Late on, when Henry Fawcett passed away, his mantle fell upon Charles Bradlaugh and he in turn was succeeded by W.S.Caine. These men have all passed away. But the questions they raised and discussed over forty years ago remain. During those years other men and women in Britain have taken up the questions, sometimes, as in the case of H.M.Hyndman, from a purely Socialist and economic standpoint, others, like Dr. Annie Besant, resting their faith on the doctrine and principle of the brotherhood of the whole human race. I think of all these, together with Keir Hardie and many another Britisher, as true friends of India anxious only to help the Indian people to realise their claim to nationhood.

Looking back over the years that are past, I am very doubtful indeed if any of those I have mentioned have accomplished anything more on behalf of India than assist Indians themselves along the upward path to freedom. When Naoroji and Bhownaggree came to England and secured election to the British Parliament - their very presence in the House of Commons, the questions asked and the speeches delivered did more to make the people of these Islands understand Indian questions than anything else could have done. It says something for our English ideas of democracy that over 30years ago two of our Indian fellow citizens were able to secure election to the Commons House of Parliament - not as representing constituencies in their own

land, but as chosen representatives of another race. I have always thought the Indian National Congress made a great mistake when it gave up striving to secure representation in the British Parliament. If men like Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Sastri and others could have stayed in this country, joined one or other of the political parties, it is certain that their mere presence in the House of Commons would have focused attention on Indian problems - especially, as must have been the case, these problems would be more frequently discussed.

Of course, I would desire that any such Indians coming here to take party in our national life should do so as members of the Labour Party, because I am sure that Party is the only one in this country that will willingly agree to put into operation a real scheme of Home Rule for India.

At present there appears little likelihood that Indians will come here, and as I suggested fight out on the floor of our Parliament the claim of Indians to rule their own native land. In these circumstances we can only look to India for guidance. At this moment I believe the greatest hindrance to India's advance to freedom is the divisions which exist in the ranks of Indians themselves, and also is due to some extent to the fact that Indians educated in this country so often forget the claims of their Motherland because of the positions and offices which a very capable British administration has to bestow. Even in our own Labour Movement we are faced with the same problem both on its political and industrial side. So many of our friends find it so easy to serve God and Mammon - that is, they vainly imagine that their own prosperity is a sign that the cause they profess to represent is also prosperous. The very reverse is often, if not always the case.

There are also questions relating to what is known as religion and caste. The problem is almost the same in some parts of the British Isles as it is in India and elsewhere. Men will fight and destroy each other about how to get to heaven but will often not unite to find a way to peace and freedom. Again, we all waste a good deal too much

time arguing about particular forms of Government, quite unmindful of the fact that so far mere changes in Government or administration do not of themselves make people either more contended or happier. We in Britain have learned in the hard school of experience that in a land where every man can have a vote at 21 years of age, where most women who have reached the age of 30 can have a vote, where local Government and municipal bodies may all be controlled and run by the masses - in such a land, with all its forms of democracy, poverty still abounds; millions are unemployed; hundreds and thousands are paupers. Look where we will in whatever land we please and we shall discover the advance of democracy, the development of economic forces has not thus far brought peace and prosperity to our fellow citizens.

I have not space to do more than state the reasons for this, and have no hesitation in saying that in India as in other lands those who oppose change know and understand only too well how to divide and conquer. If religious antagonism or what passes for religious antagonism are strong, then these are kept alive and fanned into life if by any chance they appear to be dying down. If there is economic or apparent economic antagonism, as is apparently the case between Indian and European workers and others in lands outside India or Britain, or between the workers of Britain and India, every effort is made to keep them apart and in enmity towards each other because of these economic antagonism.

Indian and Briton must learn the simple truth so simple yet absolutely true-that the workers of all lands have no enemies except those who wish to keep them apart. I support Home Rule for India because I want India to be free-free in an economic as well as a political sense. It is not possible to obtain this freedom by a mere change of masters. If those, who claim political freedom for India, merely desire to replace one oligarchy by another, then the people of India will gain nothing. There must be in India as in this country,

a movement among the masses, a movement founded on the noblest of all theories; the doctrine of life which has come to us from Buddha, Christ and all great teachers - viz., Service and the further truth so well expressed by Eugene Debbs "When I rise all mankind will rise with me", which is only another way of saying "Let him who would find his life lose it and find it again in the life of the whole of the people." This is what Socialism means. It is true that many of us pursue our path towards our goal by ugly methods. Words and deeds are said and done of which we are often ashamed. For all this and in spite of our individual shortcomings truth is truth, lies are lies; and the truth is that the next great forward movement in the history of humanity will not concern Europe or Asia, America or Africa alone, but will concern us all. Black, White and Yellow, we shall have to hammer out problems of production and exchange in a national and international sense. We have to discover how to bridge the gulf which modern capitalism has erected between the white and coloured standard of life and values. We shall only do these things when we discover that life for all of us is of no value unless it is a life of sharing.

The world is passing through a phase which will lead us out of the morass of evil in which most of us are immersed, or we shall be driven further and further down. I believe that if my Indian brothers will themselves unite and formulate their own policy for the future and then give us the right hand of fellowship, that Britain and India will lead the world out of the present hideous war of competition for bread into the free, pure, cooperative State within which we shall produce goods for use and service of all mankind. This is what the Labour Movement in Britain is striving for and this is the object for which I plead with all India to strive.

I send with this my love and best wishes to all comrades and friends in India.

[This article was written by Mr. Lansbury for the

Krishna Special Number of the Urdu daily "Tej". We are obliged to the editor of the "Tej" for giving us the first preference to publish it in English.-Editor, the Liberator.]

Depressed Classes

In a conference of the Depressed Classes held at Hosharipur the following resolutions were passed, L.Ganga Ram of Sialkot presiding :-

This Conference expresses its gratification at the change in the angle of vision of the general Hindu Public on the question of the elevation of the depressed classes and the attempts made by the foremost Hindu leaders for the uplift of the depressed classes considering the question to be one of the important factors in the amelioration of the Hindu society.

This conference appeals to the orthodox section of the Hindu society to cast aside their attitude of indifference towards their depressed Hindu brethren whom they mistakenly nickname as untouchables and to grant to the seven crores of these outcast brethren at least the rights which they hold out to the non-Hindus.

In the opinion of this conference the depressed classes have a legal right to the use of public wells which is corroborated by the recent judgements of the Honourable Mr. Justice Harrison, of the High Court of Lahore and Mr. Jenkins, Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur. This conference draws the attention of the depressed classes and the Hindus to these judgments and asks the depressed classes to exercise their right of drawing water from public wells.

This conference emphatically supports the resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha passed in its Delhi session in regard to the depressed classes being afforded facilities for drawing water from public wells, for attending public schools, sitting on carpets in public meetings and attending temples for worship. This conference welcomes the foresight displayed in restoring to the depressed classes their lost social rights and strongly prays the Mahasabha to show courage in

granting at its next session all the rights which are enjoyed by highcaste Hindus, e.g., the recitation of the gayatri mantra and study of the Vedas. This Conference strongly urges the highcaste Hindus to give a practical shape to the resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha and accord better treatment to the depressed classes.

This Conference approves of the resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha, Bharatiya Shuddhi Sabha and the Kshatriya Mahasabha, sanctioning the conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism and hopes that these Sabhas will carry on with vigour and zeal the Mission of Shuddhi and thus remove the stigma of Hinduism being a non-missionary religion.

This Conference disapproves of the dislike among the depressed classes toward their ancestral professions and urges upon them the desirability of sticking to their ancestral professions and of effecting improvements scientifically therein. This Conference further appeals to the highcaste Hindus not to look down on any body on the score of his profession.

This Conference is of opinion that the depressed classes, in order to improve their social, physical and intellectual and economic conditions should observe cleanliness, pay attention to laws of sanitation, remove all social evils, educated their children and abstain from extravagance and running into debt.

This Conference requests the Government of the Punjab to call reports to see how far its instructions in regard to the admission of depressed classes into schools have been carried out. This Conference further urges that like the Madras Government the Punjab Government should pay a handsome honorarium to teachers who admit boys of the depressed classes to their schools and that the Government should grant scholarship to such boys of the depressed classes as go up for higher education and order the free admission of those boys to schools.

[The Liberators, 26 August, 1926]

Advice From America

Miss V.J. Cooper of New York writes in a letter to an Indian friend of hers :-

"There is one thing I am wondering about, and it is your untouchable problem in India. It occurred to me this morning at breakfast, that England could do a marvellous thing if she would -that no notion has ever had a greater chance to make a posterity eternally grateful to her-by spreading an enormous educational system over India, a system of compulsory education for untouchables etc., until they should reach a point of intellectual development that would command respect. It would seem to be almost the only way to attain release from untouchability. Of course, I am in the dark; but education and knowledge are the lights that have made countries what they are. But England does not educate her colonies in this fashion. So that is out of question. Education will have to be done by yourselves. Would not this be a definite point to be advocated? Couldn't it be stressed, until even American girls, so many of whom a not imbued with a missionary spirit (not using the word in its 'Christian' application), would be willing to go to India to teach in untouchable schools, free of the taint of regarding the pupils as anything but human beings to whom one is giving knowledge? A cry of such a need would bring response inevitably."

Shree Gandhi Vidyalaya, Avidi

At Avidi (East Godavary District) there is a national

school called the "Gandhi Vidyalaya" to which Adi-Andhra pupils are admitted with children of caste-Hindus. Whether on this account or any other, the School is about to be closed for want of public support.

Are they Hindus

Mr. R.Veerian M.L.C. asked in the Madras Legislative Council that the term "Hindu Community" used in the Religious Edowments Bills should include "Adi-Dravidas and Adi-Andhras." "Is it our past Karma, that we should be kept out of the pale of Hinduism?" asked Mr. Veerian and the President, who is a nominee of the non-Brahmin party, shoved off the claim with the counterquestion "Is that the question before the house?" Apparently the President forgot that the position of the Adi-Dravidas and Adi-Andhras in Hindu Community was the question raised by their representative.

Education of the Depressed

Justice V.V.Srinivasa Iyengar presided over the opening ceremony of a free school to which Adidravida children are admitted, on 21st August at Maiyar (Madras. The school is conducted with S.Raju Naicker's charities. As the Chairman correctly pointed out, education freely given to all irrespective of caste or creed, of touchability or untouchability is the best of all charities. The school has received 26pupils, who were on this day fed and presented with clothes, slates etc. Arrangements have been made to give the pupils of the Depressed Classes and those of other classes who come from a distance one free meal every day on which the school meets.

Unapproachability reduced

The Madras Legislative Council has passed a measure declaring that all roads in Municipal areas shall be open to all persons, irrespective of touchability or untouchability.

Untouchability in Bengal

At a meeting of Brahmins at Baithor in Tangail it was resolved that Mahishoya Dass is a community of touchables and as such entitled to have their religious ceremonies performed by Srotriya Brahmins. A pati signed by numerous Brahmins of Tangail Sub-Division (Bengal) has been issued making a declaration to that effect. After the meeting was over, it is reported Srotriya Brahmins sat in the same row with Mahishyas for taking food.

Hindu Conference at Dacca

The Dacca District Hindu Conference will be held at Dacca on 11th and 12th September 1926. The Secretary of the Reception Committee has received from Dr. B.S. Monje a communication in which he accepts Presidentship.

Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee

A Meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held at Simla on 22nd and 25th August, Raja Narendra Nath presiding. The proceedings were not open to the Press. The Government pronouncement regarding processions with music and also the communal situation were among the recorded their indignation against the looting of shops and acts of incendiarism committed at Rawalpindi and expressed their deep sympathy with the sufferers.

Sri Narayan Guru's Birthday

The 70th Birthday of His Holiness Sri Narayana Guruswamy, spiritual Head of the Tiyya community of Kerala which numbers over two million, was celebrated on 25th August at the Sivagiri mutt. Members of all communities attended to participate in the celebration.

Useful Advice

A meeting of Adi Dravidas was held on 23rd August at Kichippalayam (Madras) when Mr. Naidu of Coimbatore

an ardent theosophist advised them to lead a clean life. Mr. Pillai, Secretary of the District Congress Committee, asked them to give up drinking and advised them that instead of using the carrion of dead animals for eating purpose, they should convert it into manure and from the bones of those animals, a home industry of great utility can be started.

Shuddhi in Andhra.

Mr. A. Calob of Tenali, (Christian) was reconverted to Hinduism on 24th August at Guntur, with his wife, son and sister. The Hindu names are respectively (1) A. Rama Rao, (2) Kamaladevi (3) Govinda and (4) Adi Lakshmi.

Music and Mosque

An interesting ceremony of the inauguration of a Mosque at Paris took place in the third week of July. The Sultan of Morocco, who as Khalif of the Faithful had specially gone from Morocco to Paris, opened the mosque with traditional religious formalities. When Moulay Yousuf arrived at the Mosque, he was greeted with Music. Moulay Yousuf is not only a Mahomedan ruler but a Sayyid and a Sovereign who claims to be the Commander of the Faithful. The congregation included ulema from Syria, Algiers, Tunis and other Muslim countries under the rule of France. And yet at the very time that the Mosque was to be opened, when the Khalifa arrived, he was welcomed with strains of the French National Anthem.

PARTY AND PRESS

There will be voices who will hail the difference between the Swaraj Party and the Swarajist Press on the latest piece of highhanded legislation empowering Government to confiscate literature which may offend against Sec. 153A. of the Indian Penal Code. The commercial representative of Bombay had the strongest words to say against the attitude of the Government in the thin Assembly to flout public opinion and disregard popular representatives who

were weak in numbers owing to the Swaraj Party's failure to understand the importance of the fetters forged by Sir Alexander Muddiman. The politicians of the Swaraj Party have not to wear the shoe and cannot know how it pinches. But the Press of the Swaraj Party has to wear it and the road they have to tread enables the shoe to pinch them the most. "Forward," "Hindu," "Bombay Chroncile" "Swarajya," "Searchlight"-all are united in condemning this measure, which has, without any serious effort, restored to the arbitrary executive powers that they had lost and were casting a longing glance on. Being himself a journalist- and "doyen" to boot-Lala Lajpat Rai threw off the shackles of the party and went to the Assembly to offer whatever opposition he could to stem the tide of official tyranny. (We use the word only in the sense in which the Home Member used it). He described the action of the Government most accurately when he charged them with hitting below the belt. Mr. Jinnah and he pointed out how often powers secured on one pretext were abused by the authorities for serving other unintended ends. Of course English members of the I.C.S. have come to secure a new confidences of the Muslim M.L.A.s an other Muslim leaders; and this new confidence carries its own meaning - but fortunately Mr. Jinnah is not yet inoculated with it. Be it said to the credit of Bombay that all communities opposed Government in this respect : Mr. Baptista a Christian, Mr. Jinnah a Mahomedan, Mr. Dumasia a Parsi, and Sir Purushottamdas a Hindu. Out of these Mr. Jinnah was the only communal representative.

The extreme Nationalist Press is not alone in condemning this measure. The "Justice" of Madras has castigated it as a "measure whose potentialities for mischief are immense and which for ever will hand as a Damocle's sword on the heads of those who are in charge of the Press of the country." This Ministerialist organ has not much to fear from any official oppression and yet has said :- "Nor is it inconceivable that the additional power which the Bill

vests in the local Governments will be abused and misused to the positive disadvantage of journalists and publicists all over the country .....It all seems to us to be a simple case of panicky legislation, framed in unwarranted haste and rushed through the Assembly for the insidious purpose of striking at the independence and freedom of the Press."

Equally emphatic in condemnation is the Anglo-Indian journal of Calcutta, the "Statesman" which can not conceivably have any fear from official excesses. Says our contemporary, "As it is scarcely possible to write a sentence upon Hindu-Muslim differences that is not regarded as offensive by one party or the other, the Bill may be taken as a general license to confiscate all publications on the subject." With great force the "Statesman" points out that "the operation of the new law may well prove an additional incitement." We are sincerely grateful to our contemporary for pointing this out, as we are in entire agreement with it and as we sincerely fear Hindu publicists are going to be hardest hit. A mischievous attempt of Mr. Birley (Bengal) to punish the Hindu editor of the "Forward" for exposing a crime for which Mr. Birley had not the courage to bring the Muslim offender to book was only the other day foiled by the Calcutta High Court. The Hindu Mahasabha is to day the eyesore of both Musalmans and a large number of officials. A lawyer knows how little of law the majority of District Magistrates know and how quite a substantial minority of them contemn law and how a stray District Magistrate writes his judgment even while the pleader of the one or the other side is still addressing argument to the Court. With all this knowledge, a Muslim member of the Legislative Assembly went out of his way to say that there would be no miscarriage of justice, inasmuch as District Magistrates would be enforcing this law. This eulogy is eloquent and very significant in the eyes of the Hindu publicists. We are, therefore, sincerely obliged to the "Statesman" for exposing the mischievous character of this latest misguided activity of the Executive Government.

Editorial Observations

Lord Irwin's Sincerity

Our friends the Analo-indian journals as well as some of the British members of the I.C.S. are always happy in describing Indian publicists as incapable of seeing anything good in members of the British race who are connected with the Indian Administration. Undoubtedly they do this simply to prejudice those at the top who may be inclined to sympathise with the people's point of view. They must have been sorely disappointed to see that all Indian publicists have conspired to defeat their game in connection with Baron Irwin. "In a moment of extreme mental aberration", as the "AI" journal of Allahabad should like to say, all Indian publicists have maintained that there is a "ring of sincerity" in the pronouncements of Lord Irwin. No Indian publicist has charged His Excellency of speaking with his tongue in his cheek or concealing his real thoughts. When Baron Irwin says that communal animosity is eating into National life and is "irreligion", nobody suggests that he is attempting to capture the people with shibboleths. His desire ton see peaceful relations restored between the estranged communities is accepted as sincere. We hope His Excellency has seen that while there is no desire to ignore or conceal difference of opinion or the attitude of criticism and opposition where necessary, there is no failure or inability on the part of Indian publicists to recognise sincerity and good wishes where they really exist.

The Liberation of Slaves

Slavery, which was hitherto prevalent in Nepal, has been uprooted by the sustained efforts of His Highness Sir Chandra Samsher Jung Bahadur, Prime Minister of Nepal. With the permission of His Majesty the King of Nepal, the Prime Minister has been working at this noble mission for two years. There were nearly sixty thousand slaves altogether. The institution of slavery was steadily begin discouraged

some time past, as it was, undoubtedly, difficult to abolish it at once. Now it has been abolished. Nearly four million rupees have been spent in compensating the owners of the abovementioned number of slaves and it has been declared illegal to buy or sell or keep or otherwise deal in slaves. For this noble and courageous deed both the King and Minister of Nepal deserve to be highly complemented. All humanity owe them a tribute but all Hindus must specially hail this as a year of Pride, for Nepal is the only independent Hindu State. The Himalayas are the sacred mountains of Hindu mythology and traditions and Nepal controls a part and the most important part of Himalayan Fastnesses. The worship of Shiva is the generally accepted form of God's worship in Nepal and God Shiva is called Baba Pashupatinath. May His blessing ever be on the people and the ruler and keep them ever free from alien rule especially now that they have liberated those whom they held in slavery.

Whose prestige

Mr. panikkar, writing from the European Continent, wonders why there is so much trouble over processional music before mosques in India while the Sultan of Morocco was greeted with music as he declared a mosque open in Paris. We wonder if Mr. Panikkar has managed to forget India so quickly. He has begun to think, it appears, that the trouble in India is a straightforward thing. The very fact, that this trouble has reached the highest measure in the province wherein dyarchy had to be first withdrawn, should be sufficient for any person who understands politics and is not interested in declaring all Britishers to be paragons of virtue and piety. Lord Lytton wants to have a ministry and His Excellency was, quite honestly, driven to the conclusion that unless and until Hindu-Muslim unity was shattered, dyarchy would not be possible in Bengal. The Great Earl of Chatham was himself a very pure and honest man : So is Lord Lytton. In the days of Chatham, the House of Commons was a den of corruption : one of His Graces

was allowed to do that filthy job. Apparently Lord Lytton thought that the example of that great Maker of the British Empire was not unfit for imitation. Who did the job for Lord Lytton is not a question that can be answered for some years to come. The Maharaja of Burdwan knows something about the history of the British administration of Bengal during the last two years. Music Mosques plays an important part in that history. That is why music will continue to be stopped by the Hon'ble Mr. Birley when Hindu processions pass Muslim mosques, irrespective of whether Musalmans really object to it or not, even if a Muslim Officer may say that in Pabna Hindu music did not stop before mosques. And let it be known that Mr. Birley, at present acting Home Member, has in his view a period of five years as permanent Home Member. Only the other day he issued the bull in open council that all powers based on law (or on an apology of law) will be used to stop Hindu music passing before mosques. He did not scruple to hold that the prostitution of Sec.296 of the I.P.C. by the District Magistrate of Faridpur was only a police regulation. These powers are, of course, not to be used to prevent the use of mosques as strongholds of violence or calculated and repeated breaches of peace by Musalmans of the rougher sorts. Now do you know whose prestige comes in the way of peace?

Untouchability at Pabna

On the last Nabaratri festival Vaisyas, Sahas, Kaibartas, Mahisyas, Subarnabaniks, Sutradhars, Namasudras, Jhal Mallas and Rajbansis took water along with priests of those castes. People belonging to depressed classes were engaged in kitchens and served water and curds. People of all castes took their meals without any objection - Brahmins, Kayesthas, Vaidyas and Naba Shaks of Pabna and Radhanagar.

Representation of the Depressed

At the Victoria Public Hall Madras, the Adi Dravidas

presented an address to Dr. Natesa Mudaliar, in which the following thoughts have been expressed :-

"Let us take this opportunity of evidencing the good we have derived from coming in contact with you. Your participation in our meetings and your personal touch with the members of our community have enabled you to study our situation and to representative our cause as we ourselves would do. It is by such personal intercourse that the representatives of the various communities can do the needful for them and can bring about a speedy and harmonious unification of the multifarious castes and creeds."

In the Bombay Municipal Corporation a resolution was discussed asking that the Franchise should be lowered. In support of the motion, it was rightly pointed out that to widen the Franchise was the only way to avoid reservation of seats for the backward classes.

Commendable Adventure

Mr. Chaman Lal, Press Reporter, Delhi, writes that he intends going round the world on foot. He has already travelled 3000 miles on foot, and thousands of miles by train and visited hundreds of villages and numerous towns in India. He intends spending some years in this adventure and studying conditions in different countries of the world. He needs adventurous companions who may be prepared to share with him the joys and hardships of the tour.

He will be highly obliged to tourist friends and others having knowledge and experience for useful suggestions that may help him in his adventure.

Intending companions may write to him c/o. "The Hindustan Times", Delhi.

Arundhateya Maha Sabha

Under the auspices of the Arundhateya (Depressed Classes) Mahasabha, a meeting was held at Perambur on 20th August 1926, and provision of house-sites was made for nineteen members or rather families of the community. Mr. L.C. Guruswamy M.L.C. presided.

Bengal Shudhi Sabha

Members of different Hindu communities mustered strong at the Arya Samaj Hall Calcutta on Saturday 21st August evening in a public meeting held to form and establish a Shuddhi Sabha in Bengal. Mr. A.C. Banerjee, Bar-at-Law, who presided, said that he always took a great interest in the Shuddhi movement - a movement which seeks to preserve Hindu culture and to protect Hindu society from destruction. The growth of population in Bengal did not mean the growth of the Hindu community. The last census report had disclosed the appealing fact that within ten years the Hindus who had been in the majority were today in a minority. At the present rate of decline continued the speaker, in less than 50 years there would be no Hindus left in Bengal and Hinduism would itself disappear from their province. No Hindu, however degenerate, could think of this prospect of annihilation of the Hindus and Hinduism in Bengal without a thrill of horror. It was, therefore, necessary that they should take steps to prevent the gradual destruction of their society and there were various ways of doing so. Men and women who had been taken away from their society either by persuasion or by force should be permitted to come back to their society as fellow-Hindus whenever they wanted to do so. There might be an agitation over it but they would have to reason with the mass and convert them to their ideas for the protection of the Hindus race. Their Aryan fathers when they came to India came in contact with the aborigines were allowed to embrace Hindu faith and permitted to become members of the Hindu community. The speaker in this connection referred to Shree Chaitanya who converted the Mahomedans to Hinduism and cited the case of Haridas who was accepted as a Hindu by the Hindu community of the time. In conclusion the speaker appealed to the audience to remove narrowness from their mind and make the untouchable touchable, which was the principle of the Shudhi movement.

Prof. J.L. Banerjea in the course of his speech said that considering the present situation of the country, every body should accept the principle of the Shudhi movement. Either they have to face death or accept Shudhi. Men now-a-days talk of freedom, liberty and salvation; but how would they get them if they were gradually extinct from the world? Again they were now-a-days talking of Hindu-Moslem unity. That could not be had unless the Hindus became strong. So long as they would remain weak, they would be in the minority. If they wanted one complete body of Hindu society, they would have to accept the principles of Shudhi which were the following :-
1. Make untouchables touchables. 2. Convert the people of other faiths. 3. Bring them back home who had been taken out of your society. A strong Executive Committee was formed to frame rules and regulations of the Sabha before the meeting dispersed.

Talavar Valmiki Mahasabha

The first Session of the All-karnataka Talavar Valmiki Mahasabha was held on Sunday the 15th August 1926 at Harihar in the Chitaldrug District, Mr. S.Venkatarangam, the head of the district, presiding. About 1000 delegates belonging to the Beader community were present, and the spacious pandal specially constructed was packed with delegates and visitors. The delegates were mostly from Chtaldrug District and from the Districts of Dharwar and Bellary in British India.

The president was received by messrs Dodalinga Naik, Chinnobia, Balappa and other members of the community. After recitation of a song of invocation by a student of the Bedar community, Mr. Hannumantha Naik, Chairman of the Reception Committee, read his address in Kannada, in which he briefly traced the history of the Sabha and exhorted the members of his community to combine together and elevate themselves. The President then delivered his opening speech in Kannada. He congratulated them, for they

had succeeded in organising their conference at Harihar on the banks of the Tungabhadra where God symbolises to the unity of the Shivites and Vishnavites and the unity of God and trusted that from this year and onward all of them would sink their differences and work in harmony for the welfare and uplift of their community. He said that they were descendants of brave fighters, sagacious scouts and tenacious hunters and watchmen and pointed out that the practice of dedicating women as Basavis which was said to be prevalent among some members of the community had tended to produce a degenerate race and exhorted them to teach their women to be pure in body and mind so that they might become strong and healthy and bear strong healthy and courageous sons. He also advised them to purify themselves from vicious habits and customs taking inspiration from the example of the great sage Valmiki. He assured them that the Government of His Highness the Maharaja were solicitous about the welfare of them all and they would do all that lay in their power to improve their lot in life. He further added that all life is one in the Eternal eye and every superior community should help them and that all the castes and tribes in India must become one and united if India was to prosper.

Mr. Balappa Naik one of the principal organiser of the Sabha made an extempore speech in Kannada on the origin and previous history of talavars, the service rendered by them to this ancient land and their present condition and requirements. Resolutions expressing loyalty and allegiance to the British Throne and His Highness the Maharaja were unanimously passed. The lines on which educational and economic improvement of Talvars should proceed were then considered.

Chandal Boy

Replying to the address presented by the Nagpur Hindu Sabha, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :-

"All castes in Hindu Society are of equal importance

as are the various parts of our body. We must set aside all differences such as between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and work for the good and progress of the twenty-three crores of Hindus. I love the Son of a Chandal as much as I love a Brahmin boy. I want both of them to be educated, strong and healthy. No caste is higher than or master over other castes; all are servants of the great Hindu community."

Virile Musalmans

How a peaceful Hindu procession was attacked without any provocation by a party of Mahomedans assembled in a mosque was related during the hearing of an appeal which came up before Justice Sir Lallubhai Shah and Mr. Percival at the High Court.

The Hindus of Burondi village in Ratnagiri District in 1924 organized a procession on the Mahashivratri holiday which passed off without any incident. The next year also a similar celebration took place without any trouble. But thereafter the Mahomedans of the village petitioned to the Magistrate to prohibit the Hindus from passing mosques with music in future. From that time, the relations between the two communities became strained, and all attempt by the authorities to bring about a settlement proved unsuccessful. Apprehending untoward developments on the next Mahashivratri which came off on 11th February last, the Magistrate issued on order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting the Hindus from playing music while passing the mosques, and the leaders of the Hindus were required to sign it.

On the day in question, the procession numbering about 200 persons, left the temple at noon, with a palanquin of the deity in the centre preceded by a musical band and a "bhajan" party 80 strong. A police Havaldar and a few Constables also accompanied them to preserve order. When the procession arrived within a few yards of the mosques, they stopped the music, but the bhajan-party continued their chant of "Gnyanoba Tukaram" with the clapping of hands.

The Police Havaldar, however, noticing a crowd of Mahomedans assembled in the mosque, a party of about 25 Mahomedans armed with sticks rushed upon the bhajan party shouting "stop your mouth."

There was then a free fight between both sides in which 1 Hindu was killed and 19 more received injuries, the police themselves taking shelter in a neighbouring house. In the evening when quiet was restored, a handful of Hindus returned and took the palanquin to the seashore for the necessary ceremonies.

In connection with this disturbance, 18 Mahomedans were tried before the Sessions Court of Ratnagiri, on charges of rioting, disturbing a religious assembly and causing grievous hurt, under Sections 147, 296 and 325 of the Penal Code. Out of these, one was acquitted, and the rest were convicted and sentenced to varying terms from 9 months to 1year's rigorous imprisonment, one receiving 3 years.

An appeal was preferred to the High Court of Bombay by all the accused, as a result of which two more were acquitted by their Lordships, while the conviction and sentence of the remaining 15were confirmed.

Prodattur Riots

For some days Justice Jackson of Madras High Court was engaged in hearing the criminal revision filed by Syed Hussain, Jammalamadagu Gybu Sab, Peddamasthan and 36 others against the confirmation by the Sessions Judge of Cuddappah of the sentence passed on them by the District Magistrate, ranging from 3 months to 1½ years in the sensational Prodattur riots case. The appeal filed by the Public Prosecutor against the acquittal of Jamaluddin and 6 others by the Sessions Judge is also being heard. The accused were charged for the offence of rioting, unlawful assembly, grievous hurt and trespass. The accused who were convicted were ordered to be bound over for one year from the date of release to keep peace under the Cr. Pro. Code.

The accused were all Mahomedans and most of them belonged to Prodattur where the occurrence was said to have taken place on 24th July 1925 in connection with the Moharram of that year.

The prosecution case was that since 1917 when the Moharram synchronised with the Dasara, there had been a dispute between the Mahomedans and Vaisyas of Prodattur in regard to Hindus music and processions in the town during the Moharram festival. The contention of the Mahomedans was that during the Moharram, it was not customary to have any kind of Hindu music even in houses and that no processions accompanied by such music could be had. The Vaisyas, on the other hand, had been asserting even during Moharram in connection with the Friday festival of their Kannikaparameswari temple known as Ammanvarisala. The right in question not being apparently recognised by the Executive authorities, the Vaisyas brought a civil suit which was decreed in their favour by the Subordinate Judge of Cuddappah establishing their right to go in procession with music in all public streets in a lawful manner in any part of the year. The Vaisyas in 1922 having sought to enforce the terms of the decree during Moharram of that year, the Muhammadans once again raised the objection thereto and the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Prodattur, passed an order under Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. restraining the Vaisyas against having music in processions during Moharram. The Vaisyas having then carried the matter to the High Court the order of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate was cancelled and they were allowed to have music and processions in connection with the Friday festival during Moharram of that year. From that year forwards the Mahommadans, dissatisfied with the order of the High Court, have not been observing the Moharram by way of protest. They preferred an appeal against the decree of the Subordinate Judge to the Dt. Judge and a second appeal to the High Court; they were unsuccessful in both. In April 1925 when the decree of the Subordinate Judge was

eventually confirmed by the High Court, the Muhammadans made up their minds to celebrate the next Moharram which was to run for ten days from 23rd July 1925. The executive anticipating trouble, took all precautions and bound over 50 or 60 men belonging to both communities. On 24th July 1925 when the Vaisyas were about to take their procession from the temple under a license from the Deputy Superintendent of Police, a mob of Muhammadans numbering from 700 to 1,000 gathered in the Bazzar Road armed with swords, sticks and other deadly weapons and began to pelt stones, some of which struck the Sub-Magistrate, the Taluq Magistrate and some others. The prosecution case was that the Muhammadans in giving vent to their resentment at the result of the civil litigation between them and the Vaisyas wanted to stop the music and procession of the Vaishyas arranged for the day by making a forcible entry into the temple and in pursuance of the said act, they committed the offences of having formed an unlawful assembly, rioting etc.

His Lordship Justice Jackson dismissed the revision petition. One of the accused persons Gybu Sahib opium seller was convicted by the Trying Magistrate but acquitted by the Sessions Judge. Against that acquittal Government appealed and Justice Jackson restored the conviction and sentenced him to 9 months rigorous imprisonment.

Nawin Samarth Vidyalaya

By the death of Prof. V.G.Bijapurkar 91st August, 1926,) the school has lost its founder and the young life-members and workers their best guide and an educational philosopher of a high rank. The whole responsibility now devolves upon the staff of the school. They take this opportunity, therefore, to announce to the public their determination to devote themselves to carry on the work of the school as best as they can with the advice of the various disciples and admires of the late Prof. Bijapurkar, and to assure them that the aims and ideals of the founder shall never be lost sight

of in conducting the schools. The present Governing Body had been supervising the work during his time and even after he retired from active work owing to ill-health, last year. They also have undertaken to continue in the foot-steps of the illustrious founder. Various appeals have already been published in leading Marathi Journals. The institution which is purely an Educational concern ought to be run on nonparty lines and as such deserves to be liberally helped by all men. Ever since the conception of the idea of national education, particularly from 1906 when the Samarth Vidyalaya were considered almost synonymous with each other. The public should continue to regard the school with the same feeling and to help liberally to make the school a model institution of national education and thus contribute to keep in a flourishing state this fitting and living memorial to the memory of the learned dead.

S.G.Phadke - (President)
TALEGAON N.L. Athawle - (Secretary)
NEAR POONA. S.G. Ranade - (Principal)

[The Liberators, 2 September, 1926]

THE EMANCIPATION OF HINDU WOMANHOOD

III.

I have shewn, already that the first guide for a Hindu is the Veda and the Vedas allow a Hindu widow to marry a second husband on the death of the first. The Vedic text which has been quoted makes no distinction between Niyoga and Punarvivah. But as marriage is inculcated in the Veda and the Dharmashastras for discharging the debt of parents by producing physically and morally healthy children, hence if a man or a woman became a widower or a widow and had no progeny, he or she was allowed to procreate children through Niyoga in the first three Yugas, i.e., Satya, Treta and Dwapar Yugas. But in the Kuliyuga it was prohibited by Parasara which is the authoritative Smriti for Kaliyuga according to the orthodox Hindus.

Niyoga was allowed by Manu, but he himself abrogated his own dictum. And why ? Says the Vrihaspati Smriti :-

उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु।
युगह्रासादशक्योऽयं कर्त्तुमन्यैर्विधानतः।।
तपोज्ञानसमायुक्ता कृतत्रेतादिके नरा।
द्वापरे च कलौ नृणां शक्तिहानिर्हि निर्म्मिता।।
अनेकधा कृताः पुत्रः ऋषिभिर्यैः पुरातनैः।
न शक्यास्ते ऽधुना कर्तुं शक्तिहीनैरिदन्तनैः।।

"Mannu himself has enjoined Niyoga and has himself interdicted it. Human power decreasing according to the

Yugas, people are not able strictly to follow the Niyoga rules; men in the Satya, Treta and Dwapra Yugas were given to devotion and austerities and blessed with higher intellectual power, but in the Kali Yuga, the human race has degenerated. The various kind of sons, which were procreated by the sages of old, cannot now be procreated by the weak mortals of the present age."

It is clear, according to Vrihaspati, that Manu intended to refer the injunction for Niyoga to the first three Yugas and its prohibition to the Kaliyuga. Manu himself admits variation of Dharma according to Yugas. Chapter I, verse 85:-

अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मा स्त्रेतायां द्वापरेऽपरे।
अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगह्रासाऽनुरूपतः।।

"Other is the Dharma in the Krita (Satya) age, other in the Treta and in Dwapara, other in the Kali age; in proportion to the decrease of ages."

But which Smriti lays down the Dharma for Kali Yuga? Says Parasara in the first Chapter of his Smriti :-

कृते तु मानवा धर्मास्ते तायां गौतमाः स्मृताः।
द्वापरे शांख लिखिता कलौ पाराशरा स्मृताः।।

"The Dharmas enjoined by Mannu are assigned to the Satya Yuga; those by Goutama to the Treta; those by Sankha and Likhit to the Dwapara; and those by Parasara to the Kaliyuga."

Parasara being the authority for आचार (Conduct) in the Kaliyuga let us find out what Apadharma आपद्धर्म does he lay down for women deprived of their husbands. Says Parasara :-

नष्टे मृते प्रयूजितं कीबेज पतिते पतौ।
पश्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते।।

"On receiving no tidings of her husband, on his demise, on his turning an Ascetic, on his being found impotent or

on his degradation - under any one of these five calamities, it is canonical for women to take another husband." As regards the first आपत्काल (calamity) i.e., नष्टे Narada Sanhita goes into detail :-

अष्टौ वर्षाण्यपेक्षेत ब्रह्माणी प्रोषितं पतिम्।
अप्रसूतातु चत्वारि परतोऽन्यं सभाश्रयेत्।।

" A Brahman woman should wait 8 years for her absent lord and four years only if she be childless; then let her marry again."

क्षत्रियाषट समास्तिष्टेद प्रसूता च समात्र्यम्।
वैश्या प्रसूंता चत्वारि द्वे वर्षेत्वितरा वसेत्।।

"A Kshatriya woman should wait six years and in case she has no issue, three years only. A Vaishya woman, if she has borne a child, four years, otherwise only two."

न शूद्राया स्मृतः काल एष प्रोषितयोषिताम्।
जीवति श्रूयमाणेतु स्यादेसद्विगुणोविधिः।।

"For a Shudra woman no period is mentioned for which she is to wait for her husband. If it be heard that he is living, the rule is that the aforesaid periods are to be doubled."

अप्रवृत्तौ तु भूतानां दृष्टिरेषा प्रजायते।
अताऽन्य गहने स्रीणामेव दोषोन विद्यते।।

"Such is the opinion of Brahma, the lord of men. In such cases, therefore, there is no harm in woman marrying again." From the above authorities it is plain that the most orthodox Hindu should allow a widow to remarry, if she wishes to procreate children and feels that she cannot retain her Brahmacharya for life.

The answer to the second question has already been given in reply to the first. As long as people retained the power of acting upto the laws of Niyoga, by avoiding child

marriage and conforming to the rules of Brahmacharya, there was no need of allowing them to remarry. But when they became unable to control their carnal desires, widow remarriage was allowed in order to save them from promiscuous sexual connections and the attendant evils.

The third question is As the gotra is changed after Saptapadi, which of the two gotras should be adopted at the time of marriage ? and allied with it is the question - Who is the दाता or giver? Because a giver is necessary at the time of marriage.

Let us take the question of giving and taking in marriage, first. In ordinary cases, a man can make a gift or sale of a thing, if he has a right to it. He loses his right in that thing, if he once makes a sale or gift of it, and consequently cannot make a sale or gift of it again. There seems to be, however, no analogy between such gift and the gift of a daughter. In the case of land, cattle etc. no one can make a gift or sale if he has no right therein. Should he happen to make such a gift or sale, it becomes null and void. But gift in marriages is not actual but nominal. The framers of the Hindu Dharmashastras have enjoined the disposal of the daughter in marriage under the designation of gift. The marriage is consummated on any one's making the gift. The marriage is valid and complete by the gift of the bride by a person who could have no right whatsoever in her, equally with one who may have an actual right in her. In the case of ordinary things no person can make over by gift a thing to another when he has no right in that thing, while a bride can be made over in that thing, while a bride can be made over in gift by any person of the same caste, as says the smriti -

पितादधा तु स्वयं कन्यां भाता अनुमतः पितुः।
मातामही मातुलश्र सकुल्या बान्धव स्तथा।।
माता त्वभावे सत्वेषां प्रकृतौ यदिवर्त्तते।
तस्याम प्रकृति स्थायां कन्यां दद्युः स्वजातयः।

"The father should himself make.the gift of the daughter or the brother should do so with the permission of the father. The maternal grand-father, the maternal uncle, persons descended from the same paternal ancestor, and persons with whom there are ties of consanguinity, shall give away the bride. In the absence of all these, the mother, if she is in her sane state, shall make the gift; if she is not, the gift shall be made by persons of the same caste."

If it had been the intention of the framers of the Shastras that the same rule shall hold with reference to the gift or sale of land, cattle etc., how could persons of the same caste he entitled to make the gift? If anyone has a right in her, it is her father and mother alone. But if she is given in marriage by others too, the marriage is valid to all intents and purposes. The gift of a bride is merely a nominal part of the marriage ceremony. If then the gift of a daughter is founded on no right whatsoever in her and if it is a gift merely nominal and enjoined by the Shastras as only a part of a marriage ceremony, there is nothing to prevent the father to give her away in any of the contingencies laid down in Parasara Smriti; and under such circumstances the gotra of the father is again restored. Says the Smriti-

सतुयद्यन्य जातीयः पतितः कीव एव च।
विकर्म्मस्थः सगोत्र वा दासो दीर्घामयोपिवा।।
ऊ ढ़ापि दे या सान्यस्मै सहावरणभूषणा।

"If after the wedding (i.e., when the bridegroom's gotra has been adopted) the husband be found to be a different caste, degraded, impotent, unprincipled, of the same gotra or family, a slave, or a valetudinarian, then a married woman should be bestowed upon another decked with proper apparel and ornaments."

Wow is to make a gift of the bride in remarriage? Surely the father when her previous marriage is declared null and void by the Shastras. To support the above contention there is a practical illustration of it in the Mahabharat -

अर्जुनस्यात्मजः श्रीमानिरपवात्रम वीर्यवान्।
सुतायां नागराजस्य जातः पार्थेन द्यीमता।।
ऐरावतेन सादत्ता ह्यानपत्या महात्मना।
पत्यौ हते सुपर्णेन कृपणा दीन चेतना।।

"By Arjuna was begotten on the daughter of Nag-raja, a handsome and powerful son named Iravan. When her husband was killed by Suparna, Airavata, the magnanimous King of the Nagas, made a gift of that dejected, sorrowstricken, childless daughter of Arjuna.

When, therefore, the gift of a daughter is, as proved above, not founded on right, but only forms a part of the marriage ceremony, when there is clear sanction in the Shastras to make the gift of a daughter on the occasion of her remarriage with all the rites and ceremonies of marriage, and when we have clear evidence of a widowed daughter having been made over as a gift on the occasion of her remarriage, the objection that, after the gift of the daughter, the father has lost all his right in her and therefore cannot give her away a second time in marriage, is altogether unreasonable. The fact is, those parties who are entitled, according to the Shastras, to make a gift of a female on the occasion of her first marriage, can also do so on the occasion of her remarriage.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.
(Incomplete)

A GENEROUS SOUL

We are very grieved by the death of Seth Raghu Mall (may his soul rest in peace), which took place in Calcutta on Sunday last at about 10p.m. He was very ill for a pretty long time and nearly a fortnight ago asked his relatives and friends to wire to Swami Shraddhanand in whom he had great confidence, to go to Calcutta and see him. Fearing that the sick man would not be able to bear the excitement, nobody wired or wrote to Swami Shraddhanand. Only when

the sick man began to inquire again and again was a telegram sent, which was received in Delhi on Saturday. Swamiji left the same night reaching Calcutta in the morning on Monday i.e. about twelve hours too late. On Friday last the deceased made a will giving away for charitable purposes bequests totalling more than two million rupees in value, besides directing that promises already made should be fulfilled. There are five Executors and Trustees amongst whom are Mr. D.P.Khaitan M.L.C., Mr. G.D.Birla and Babu Chhajju Ram. The deceased had a very soft corner in his heart for the Aryasamaj in general and for the Gurukula system of education in particular. He padi substantial amounts in aid of this while he was living and promised equally substantial sums to be paid in due course. In view of the abovementioned direction to the executors, they have asked Swami Shraddhanand to give them a list of these promises. The following is the list as far as he remembers at present :-

Approximate date.	PURPOSE	Amount in Rupees.
I February 1917	(a) For building a Yajnashala in the Indraprastha Gurukula	10,000
	(b) For teachers quarters in the same	5,000
2 March 1918.	Promised a lakh for a Kanya Gurukula at the anniversary gathering of Hardwar Gurukula, out of which Rs. 21,000 have been paid, the balance being....	79,000
	Promised Rs. 500P.M. till the whole of the above amount was paid up, the amount due for the last 12months being....	6000
3 April 1919.	Promised by telegram for building a martyrs' Memorial Hall at Delhi one lakh, out of which Rs. 50,000 have been paid the Balance being	50,000

Approximate date.	PURPOSE	Amount in Rupees.
4 March 1920	Promised for building a hospital in the Kurukshetra Gurukula	5,000
5 March 1921	Promised for the purchase of a mechanical plant for Hindu University	
50,000		
6 March 1924	Promised Rs. 12,000 for the Dalit Udhar Sabha Delhi, out of which Rs. 1,000 was paid, the balance being.	
11,000		
7 March 1918	Promised Rs.20,000 towards the Building Fund of the Arya Anathalaya of Delhi out of which Rs. 10,000 have been paid, the balance being	10,000
	Total	**2,26,000**

Lala Raghumall asked me to give him an estimate of preliminary and recurring expenses for opening a Techno-Industrial College in connection with Gurukula Vishwa Vidyalaya, Hardwar. I gave him an approximate estimate of Rs. five lakhs. Lalaji did not promise a definite sum but keep all along consulting me about it. If the trustees and executors keep this in mind, they will earn the gratitude of those who are interested in maintaining the Premier National University.

If I learn about or recollect any other promises, I will let the trustees know about them subsequently.

9.9.26, Delhi. Shraddhanand Sanaysi.

A public meeting of Hindus was held in the Aryasamaj Mandir, Delhi, in honour of the late Lala Raghu Mall in the evening yesterday. Swami Shraddhananda returned from Calcutta in the Howrah-Agra-Delhi Express and drove straight to the meeting over which he presided.

[The Liberators, 9 September, 1926]

TOWARDS DICTATORSHIP

Deshbandhu Chitranjan Das, the president-elect was in jail ; at the recommendation of Mahatmaji, Hakeem Ajmal Khan had been appointed to officiate for him, but the actual business was transacted by Mahatmaji. When the subjects Committee met to elect a Working Committee, Mahatmaji pressed for appointing members who could completely Co-operate with the first Dictator. Shri Vithalbhai Patil moved that members nominated by mahatma Gandhi be accepted ; Mr. Jamna Das Mehta seconded. To me it appeared they wanted to shew Mahatmaji the unreasonability of his demand. But Mahatmaji took them seriously and retired to nominate members. That was the first step towards dictatorship. The second was the ultimatum to the Government of India for inaugurating mass Civil Disobedience in Bardoli after the lapse of 15 days.

As Lala Lajpat Rai was in Jail, the Punjab delegates wanted me to go with them while Hakeem Ajmal Khan wanted me at Delhi. I referred them both Mahatmaji who decided in favour of Delhi. As had come from Delhi at a time when collections by me for the Martyr's Memorial fund were in full force, I wanted to go back at once, but I had given previous promises to the Aryasamajes at Bombay, Akola and some other places in Bombay, Akola and some other places in Berar to join their Anniversary meetings.

So, I left for Bombay on the evening of 30th December but before leaving I asked Gandhiji whether he had fixed any date for beginning Mass Civil Disobedience at Bardoli.

He told me that he had not decided yet. But when I reached Bombay I read his ultimatum in the papers ad also his assumption of de facto Dictatorship by writing authoritatively in Young India. What my mental attitude about his doings was will appear from the following preface to an article which I sent to Bombay papers :-

"The Dictator asserting himself . The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is still in working order ; yet Mahatma Gandhi has thought fit to issue his dictum on the attitude of those who insist upon complete independence ad the goal of Indian aspirations at the present moment. Perhaps mahatmaji thinks that the time for him to assume complete dictatorship has arrived. This was the misgiving which troubled me, with several others, at Ahmedabad. And had not Mahatmaji very skilfully succeeded in inducing those who had moved the amendment about dictatorships to withdraw it and to concentrate themselves on the whole resolution being thrown out by the house which, he must have known, was impossible, the amendment could have been moved in open Congress. Disagreeing as I do, with Mahatma Gandhi in several details of non-violent non-co-operation (non-violence in thought, word and deed being, in my opinion, the essence of the whole movement) and strongly deprecating his temerity in giving authoritative expression to his personal views in the principles of Hindu religion without having studied its Gospels in original, I have still worked with him because it is his movement alone in which lies, in my opinion, the salvation of our Motherland at the present moment. But all the respect and veneration which I have for his divine character cannot restrain me from protesting against his recent communique which has appeared in 'Young India' of 5th January, 1922."

Before the arrival of the date of Bardoli Satyagrah, Pandit Malaviyaji called a round table Conference of the different political parties in the country and the Bardoli Satyagrah was adjourned till January 31st. Malaviyaji called

a round table Conference of the different political parties in the country and the Bardoli Satyagrah was adjourned till January 31st. Malviyaji's Round Table Conference was again an utter failure. But before they met at Bombay I wrote twice to Mahatma Gandhi from Akola telling him plainly that majority of the Congress leaders appeared to be anxious for some king of compromise and therefore he would do well to relax a little in his stiff attitude.

When the further period of grace was about to expire, Mahatmaji called a meeting of workers at Bardoli on 29th January 1922 and after having passed a resolution for starting Mass Civil Disobedience in right earnest sent his memorable ultimatum to the Viceroy.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

The Emancipation of Hindu womanhood IV

The reply to the 5th query has already been given by quoting Mahabharat as regards the remarriage of the widowed daughter of Nagaraja with Arjuna. But as regards the unconsummated widow, her away and her marriage rites are to be celebrated like a virgin bride. Says the Laghushatatap Smriti : -

उद्धाहिता च या कन्या, न संप्राप्त च मैथुनम्।
भर्त्तारं पर रम्येति यथा कन्या तथैव सा।।
समुद् धृत्य तुतां कन्या साचेदक्षतयोनिका।
कुल शीलवते दद्यदिति शाततपोऽब्रवीत्।।

"A virgin who has been married but remains unconsummated can marry another husband, because she is just like a virgin. If she is unconsummated she may be given to a man of character belonging to a boble family - so says Shatatap."

But as regards consummated widow, she herself is the best judge of whom to marry and any respectable fatherly

man may give her away. This is, in a way, supported by the Veda, the chief authority for Dharma -

इयं नारि पतिलोकं वृणाना निपद्यत उपत्वा मर्त्यप्रेतम्।
धर्मं पुराणम नुपालयन्ती तस्मै प्रजां द्रविणं चेह धेहि।।
(अर्थवेद काण्डा 18, सूक्त 3, मन्त्र 1)

"The woman, desiring the position of married life after (separation from her) deceased husband, comes to thee, O man ! observing an cient Dharama. Support her by (procreating on her) progeny and (giving her) wealth."

Sixthly, as regards the regards the rules and procedure of marriage the same विधि and the same प्रयोग is applicable as was followed in her first marriage.

Of course Niyog had its own simple procedure, an enquiry into which is neither necessary nor profitable at the present movement.

The seventh question is put up on account of ignoring the fact that Parasara Smriti, the chief authority which lays down the law for Kaliyuga recognizes three kinds of sons only, while the Smritis relating to the first three Yugas speak of twelve kinds. In the 4th Chapter Parasara thus enumerates the recognised sons -

औरसः क्षेत्र्जश्रव दतः कृत्तिमकः सुतः।

"Auras, Dattaka and kritrim are the three kinds (classes) of sons."

Barring the two kinds of adopted sons, named Dattaka and Kritrima, there is only one kind of son recognized in Kaliyuga and that is Aurasa - the son of the won bodies of husband and wife - whether they are bound to each other by the first marriage or by remarriage.

The questioner is wrong in asserting that the shastras permit औरस (Aurasa) sons as heirs for Panch Dravidas and Panch gaudas only. In the Kaliyuga the sons of the body of all the Dvijas (Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya) are permitted to raise Aurasa sons by first or the subsequent remarriages. Thirteen hundred years ago, when Emperor

Harshavardhana reigned supreme at his capital- Sthaneswar, there were no subdivisions among the Brahmans. Says C. V. Vaidya in his history of 'Midiaeval Hindu India' on the authority of Hiuen Tsang (the Chinese traveller) and Van Bhatt (the Rajput Pandit of Emperor Harsha) -

"And the first thing we have to remark is that Brahmins yet formed one caste without subdivision throughout India ; the modern distinction based on the territorial division had not yet come into existence. The distinctions now known as Panch Dravidas and Panch gaudas had not arisen ; not to speak of the many minor subcastes, into which Brahmins are at present further sub-divided. The only distinction then known appears to be that of Shakha or charana i.e. school of Vedic ritual or recitation. The Gotra was also always mentioned, and the pravara sometimes. In fact in this matter modern Brahmins are diametrically different from the brahmins of the days of Bana. The Modern Brahmins scarcely knew what their Gotra is and to what Vedic sutra they belong though they can tell at once whether they are Kanojia or Sanadhya, Maratha or Dravida. But the Brahmin of the seventh century A. D. always distinguished himself by his Gotra and Sutra." (Page 67.)

Here end my answers to all the questions put any my Canarese brethren. But I have further to urge one unanswerable plea on behalf of the remarriage of widows. If the ancient Aryan practice of giving away a girl, not less than 16 years of age, in marriage to a youngman 25 years old, had endured, this question would, perhaps, not have cropped up ; but apadkal (time of calamity) demands the remedy of apaddarm and the remarriage of widows becomes a duty for those under whose protection widows pass their bitter period of widowhood. As I have already said barring those few Savitris who aim at leading the pious life of Brahmadcharya, all the rest should be helped it they want to remarry and pass a life of devotion to husband and children.

For what has been the result of the criminal tyranny

of Hindus over their womanhood ? The child widow is fed in Hindu homes till she attains the age of puberty ; in the whole of Northern India she is kept down by the universal parda system and succumbs to the brutal passions of either a licentious rake of a relation or a servant ; when she conceives and becomes big with child efforts are made to obtain forcible abortion ; in nine cases out of ten even the abandoned woman does not like the child in her womb to be massacred and runs away from her prison of a house and either seeks the shelter of some Muhammadan husband or becomes a regular prostitute because the family of the monster, who impregnated her, thinks its nose will be cut (i.e. it would be dishonoured) if remarriage of the widow is permitted and its honour would be saved it the poor oppressed widow is handed over to a Mahammadan, although in both cases the widows, while they themselves are obliged to become beefeaters, add to the number of beef eaters by bringing forth children ! Woe to the displayer of the flag of virtue (धर्मध्वजी) and boaster in public (लोंक दम्भिक) who sacrifices the chastity of Hindu women at the debased alter of his lust and then tramples upon the victims of his lust. For the impious and sinful acts of such human monsters the whole Hindu Samaj is suffering and it is the duty of the Hindu community, as a whole, to atone for the sins of canting ravishers among them by performing proper prayashchit (प्रायश्चित).

I. Let it be ruled, according to the dictates of Ayurveda that the marriage of a girl under sixteen years of age is null and void, and on girl shall be married without her consent and to a man who is not fit either to procreate children or to support his wife.

II. Let it be ruled that every woman is entitled to the sole right to her stridhan and her self-acquired property.

III. Let it be ruled that under all the five conditions laid down by Parashara the remarriage of a Hindu widow is lawful if she wants to lead a married life. And

IV. Lastly, if a woman falls by being led astray or being forcibly ravished by a non-Hindu she would be received in the bosom of the Hindu Samaj if she repents and comes back after performing proper prayashchit. This is, in my humble opinion, the first step towards making the Hindu Samaj self-dependent i.e., towards true Sangathan.

(Completed).
Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

THE COMING ELECTIONS

Pandit Motilal Nehru made a great mistake when he backed out of the Sabarmati pact at threat of his Madrasi Colleagues. He committed another Himalayan blunder when he advised the de jure President of the Congress to throw away another opportunity of coming to terms with the responsive-co-operationists by refusing to call a meeting of the A.I.C.C. The result is that many of the most popular members of his party have left for good and another independent party has been added to the already existing half a dozen political parties in the country. It appears, however, that while the other parties have, formally or informally come to an understanding, the Swarajya party is leading its forlorn hope severely alone.

But the man in the street fails to understand what practical difference of principle there is between the Swarajya and the other parties. Pandit Nehru has tried to explain the real difference in an aphorism. The Swarajya party, according to him, is a Kshatriya determined to snatch Swarajya out of the unwilling hands of the Government, while the other combined parties are Banias (not Vaishyas even, mind you) standing with their begging bowls at the door of the British bureaucracy.

Next to Gandhiji I have the greatest regard for the self-sacrifice and singleness of purpose of brother Motilalji, but when I find my brother going astray, it becomes my

painful duty to open his eyes to the pitfall towards which he is walking. A braggart holding out impotent threats does not deserve the title of a Kshatriya.

Truly says Tulsidasji -

शूर समर करनी करहिं, कहि न जनावहिं आप।
विद्यमान रिपु पाइ रण, कायर करहिं प्रलाप।।

A bold Kshatriya acts when the time comes but a bragging coward begins to lament at finding the enemy facing him. Of what avail is this tall talk about mass civil disobedence and policy of persistent obstruction when practically Swarajists have follow a policy of responsive co-operation or discriminative non-co-peration in the Councils. And both the parties will be obliged to remain Banias until they are helped by those very social and religious reformers whom they deign to despise.

So, practically, there is no difference between the parties so far as action is concerned, and it may appear immaterial who gets more votes in the coming elections. But there is one real difference which should not be lost sight of. The responsive co-operation party professes what it is prepared to practise while the professions and practices of the Swarajya party are as poles asunder. Therefore conscientious voters who are in favour of mass civil disobedence and persistent obstruction in the Councils, must refuse to vote at all, while those who have faith in working the reforms for what they are worth must vote for non-Swarajist parties by whatever title they are known. I would have liked a fusion of all the non-Swarajist parties and should have preferred their working under one label, that of 'responsive Co-operation" but I am hopeful that after entering the Assembly and the Councils their several leaders will merge their personalities into one confederacy having one aim and object, that of obtaining Swarajya through means which are not beyond their power.

Further I would have liked the A.I.C.C. or, if that body has not the power then, a special session of the Congress

to allow the Swarajists to retire gracefully from a field which was foreign to their programme of work ; but I look forward with confidence to the next session of the Congress doing the needful so as to enable the Swarajists to profess what they actually practise.

There is one piece of a advice which I would like to give unasked to leaders of all the parties which are engaged in the coming elections. I exhort them to restrain their followers from indulging in dirty personal attacks on their opponents and themselves to refrain firm using undignified language in their controversies with each other. But if the leaders do not follow this principle, let the voters refuse to vote for a man who has indulged in personalities unworthy of a man of honour. The party men should not forget that all mutual recriminations and washing of dirty linen in public will be taken advantage of by the bureaucrats in Council and indulgers in these unseemly pastimes will rue the day when they resorted to them.

Shraddananda Sanyasi

Some Hindu Grievances

There are however certain definite grievances of the Hindus. They are as striking and revealing. Not quite 30 years ago the ratio of Hindu population to Musalman was four to one. In a brief generation it has become almost three to one. In a brief generation it has become almost three to one. This is partly due to the Hindu's negligence and perversity. But the significant fact is there. Now if the Hindu leaders seek to remedy these evils and stem the tide making for the attrition of the race, they must have the sympathy of all non-Hindu partiots. Hinduism is being imperceptibly extinguished by the deathrate, especially among children which is high and secondly by what they call perversion to Islam and Christianity. A number of Hindu custom is to blame. The Musalmans on the other hand, have been carrying on an active proselytising propaganda.

To this they have recently added Dr. Kitchlew's Tanzim Organisation. It is not necessarily against Hinduism. It is for their protection. The Hindus have replied by Suddhi and Sangathan. So for as the Musalmans who consider that their ancestors were forcibly converted to Islam are willing to reembrace Hinduis, the shuddhi cannot be reasonably condemned. And as for Sangathan or internal discipline, who would do it except those Anglo-Indians who would like to set two communities by the ears ?

The Hindu's great grievance is the slaughter of the kine. Here, I fear, he is in the wrong. The Musalman should not be reproached for the slaughter of a few hundred of certain animals on certain particular days by the Hindu while he shuts his eyes to the much more numerous destruction for the sake of providing food to the British soldier. This has been so clearly demonstrated by my friend Pandit Shyamlal Nehru, that I would refer to the literature on the subject by him. The Hindu rightly regards the cow as a holy animal and as I read the Zoroastrian scriptures, the animal is held in such reverence that beef is prohibited to the Parsis. It will be seen that some of the best conducted Panjropoles in Bombay or hospitals for the animal are conducted by the Parsis. That fact, however, does not blind impartial people to the greed and heartlessness of the Hindus with regard to the cow. The venerable Swami Shraddhanand has so repeatedly and bodly exposed the reprehensible practices of the Hindus that I can only content myself by referring now to the voluminous literature by the holy man. To my Hindu friends, I would ask if they really cherish the cow, why should they permit such cruel and barbarous custom as the Phuka of Assam ?

With regard to music before mosque, I think, here the sensible Musalmans are divided. The liberal minded have declared themselves openly that any noise outside the sacred buildings ought not to disturb the devotee who maintain that the Musalman's objection to music is wholly a modern pretension. The Islamic conquerors of Christians countries

objected to the Nakus of the Christians : the beating of it in subdued noise was laid down as a condition of peace. But is has been expressly stated in the treaties that this affair of non-Musalman music is a secondary concern. It is therefore undoubted that Musalmans are laying undue stress on the music before mosques in our generation.

But beyond these ostensible causes of the antagonism, there lie the real ones. They are purely economical. The Musalman who despised Western culture is fast coming up. His group is almost out-stripping the sister communities. The loaves and fishes of Government quite as well as other or allied offices are now divided between the two. This is so especially in Bengal and Punjab. The leaders of both may peep into the past. Even under the Musalman domination the Hindus occupied positions of honour and dignity to which they cannot attain under the British. Many Hindus have nobly laid down that they are Indians first and Hindus in the second place. This lofty ideal was first enunciated by Sir Phirozeshah Mehta. It is something to rejoice over that Dr. Ansari has subscribed to the same principle and if more Musálmans join this elevating creed, the day which is bound to come will be hastened and when the Hindu will regret and the Musalman will be smarting, both over the follies committed by themselves in the name of their religion and their God.

A little study of current history in the Indian States will show that just these religious festivals over which our friends now quarrel are the occasions of fraternity. The Mohurrum procession is led by Hindu Rajas and Hindus participate in the worship of many Musalman saints. Devoted Hindus share with the Parsis the reverence for Fire and present sandal wood to Parsi temples. Religion can become a bond among our people. So spiritual and tolerant all of us Indians are. His Excellency the Viceroy was certainly not wrong when he stated that for the moment we were prostituting religion to our mundane purposes.

We have analysed some of the causes of the present

tumult. The Hindu is asserting himself physically and intellectually. He who considered it a sin to cross the Kalapani is now visiting the Were in shoals. Those who despised bodily exercises and were getting effeminate are becoming aware of its necessity. The Musalman, who despised western studies, is now qualifying for the highest degrees of European and American Universities. It should not be impossible for us to work hand in hand if only the Musalman could deep himself from the influences which seek to diminish partiotism and divide his love between India and Foreign Islamic lands. These two major communities as well as the minor communities have to live here in India. Our home. Let us take a leaf out of the book of the liberalised Musalmans and Christians in the Middle East, in Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Persia. There they have entirely subordinated the unessentials of religion to patriotic love. Fanaticism will not advance us. To check fanaticism I would call no Pandit learned and no maulana erudite, unless both scrutinised the essentials of the Faith of each other. The Moslem alumni of the Moghal court were Sanskritists. The Hindu Pandits were profound Persian scholars. It is the union of the two sacred lores which will procure us political harmony and eventual independence.

Our cartloads of Orientalists and the conferences are futilities if the Hindu savant confines himself to Sanskrit and the Musalman of learning circumscribes his studies to mediaeval Arabic. It is the man of wide and comprehensive culture whose learning alone can benefit our country.
Mazgaon, Bombay.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA
The Passive Resistance Struggle.

By C. F. Andrews

A wish expressed by Swami Shraddhnanda, whom I have held in reverence for over twenty years is a sacred thing to me and thought I am at the present time recovering from an illness by bloodpoisoning, which at one time was

very dangerous indeed, I cannot refrain from sitting at my desk and writing a special article for the "Tej" on the position of Indians abroad in South Africa, at the continual seasickness on these voyages which seems to get worse each voyage instead of becoming better. There had been a very long-standing promise to go out to my own, and also Swamiji's very dear friend, Mr. Stokes, at Kotgarh, where he is living with his family one of whom is my little God-Child. Therefore after seeing the Vicerory twice about South Africa, and also visiting Mahatmaji twice for the same purpose in order to get his advice Kotgarh which is along the Hindustan Tibet Road on the way to China. When I reached Mr. Stokes, I found him very deeply engaged in his new school work, with Mr. Gregg from America also, helping him to the utmost of his power. Mr. Sundaram was, also, with him, who had been doing national work at a school in Mandalay. For a few days, I was quite well. Then, owing to the bite of a poisonous inseet, all the poison which had been accumulating in my body gathered strength and after fever for three days the left leg became very swollen and for many days I could not put it down to the ground without great difficulty and pain. Mr. and Mrs. Stokes and Mr. Gregg and Mr. Sundaram were most kind to me through my illness, and I was able at last to get back to Simla, where I saw the Vicerory again for the third time on South African affairs and then I came back to my own dear home at Santiniketan Asram, where I have been resting ever since. It was there, that the letter came from Swami Shraddhananda asking me, if not too tired, to write this article for the special number.

It is, so I understand, a special number in memory and reverence of Sri krishna. For that reason, I would begin by saying clearly that never before have I understood so clearly and followed so closely the words of Gita concerning Nishkama karma, which my own dearest English friend Willie Person made a motto for us both on our first journey together in 1913 to South Africa when we met Mahatma Gandhi for the first time. He uses to regret to me in hours of despondency

those wonderful words "look ever to the work, not to fruit." We had to leave all results in God's hand and only to struggle to fulfil the divine will in the work itself.

Willie Parson my friend and Swamiji's friend also (for Swami Shraddhananda loved him with all his heart) was tragically killed in a railway accident in Italy nearly four years ago and the blank in my own life has never been filled up. How I missed him this time voyage to South Africa and remember those extraordinarily happy days we had with Mahatma Munshi Ram and Professor Ram Dev and Dr. Sukhdewa and the Brahmacharis of the Gurukula, including more than one who have since gone out to Africa themselves.

I have side that Mahatma Munshi Ram was one of our heroes. Mahatma Gandhi, whom we had never seen till we reached South Africa, was another. Our Gurudeva, the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, was all in all to us both ; for he had inspired us with a love of India , the mother, which his own poetic nature had made real and living to us we had never known Mother India before. One more, who is now dead, Principal Rudra of St. Stephen's College Delhi, we both loved intensely. He was the truest patriot in his outlook upon life and a saintly character whom Hindus and Musalmans in Delhi alike respected.

I have often told the story how I first met mahatma Gandhi in South Africa and how I was regarded with horror by my fellow countrymen because I had made 'pranam' to him when I first met him by touching his feet. It was wonderful how simply both Willie Person and I come to he friends out there. They gave us their own friendship without any reserve. It was to both of us a time of very great joy, though for me the joy was broken by my own mother's death while we were in the very midst of the struggle.

When we had got to know Mahatma Gandhi very well indeed, he uses to laugh at me in his own beautiful way, with love smiling in his face because, he said, it was quite

easy to see the trinity I worshipped, namely Mahatma Munshi Ram, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore and Principal Susil Kumar Rudra. He told me that I had made all three of them living personalities to him and that it had become his wish to know each one of them. After that he used very often to speak of this 'trinity' and it was always a pleasure to me to speak about these three saints and heroes of mine whom I loved with all my heart.

It is almost impossible to describe these wonderful days. At one time we were all preparing to start upon the march into the Transvaal. We expected twenty thousand Indians to join us on their way to court imprisonment in the hard South African prisons. Indian men. Even little children refused to be left behind, thought on the earlier March two of them had died on the journey across the cold mountains,- the two first martyr children in the whole campaign.

I shall hope at some future time to be able to describe for the 'Tej' some further incidents in this momentous struggle. But just now, with somewhat failing health, I can easily see that if I do not close the present article at this point, it is likely to be left unfinished and perhaps get too late for the special number of the 'Tej' .

I have two requests to make in concluding this article. The former request is that the English article, which I have written and which will be translated, may be published in the 'Liberator' in order to follow on after the articles I have already published in that weekly paper owing to Swamiji's kindness. I would like as far as possible all my articles to be published in both papers.

My second request is that when I go back to South Africa as I hope to do shortly and send letters or articles to Delhi to my dear friend and brother Swami Shraddhananda, they may be translated and published in the 'Tej' as well as in the "Liberator." For I am just as anxious, - nay, far more anxious, - to have the good-will and the prayers of those who cannot speak English or read

English, as of those who can.

[We have to apologise both to Mr. Andrews and to our readers for the delay that has occurred in the publication of this article. We thank our stars that we have published it before Mr. Andrews leaves India once again for South Africa on his noble Mission. He has the good wishes and prayers of all Indians, - Editor, the Liberator.]

A NOTABLE RE-CONVERSION

Prof. John Y. Ramanayya, a Protestant Christian gentleman of Vizianagaram, who had belonged to a Brahmin family, members of which had embraced Christianity several years ago when he was a boy aged about 6, was reconverted to Hinduism under the auspices of the Arya Samaj, Secunderabad. He has now resumed his Hindu name, Vinjamoor Kameshwara Sharma. He was invested with the sacred tread after undergoing prayaschita on 15th August 1926. Prof. Sharma is aged about 26 and is one of the Proprietors of the Gaiety Cinema Hall at Vizianagaram. He is the chief representative of the East Coast Engineering Company and an expert on light railways. He is a Professor of Psycho-Therapeutics. At the close of the ceremony, exhortations to lead the life of an ideal Arya were addressed to Prof. Sharma by the well-known Arya Samajists Pandit Adipoodi Somanatha Rao and Mr. Baji Krishna Rao, B.A.B.L., and Pandit Suraj Pershad, a follower of Sanatana Dharma. In reply, the Professor delivered an eloquent speech, in the course of which he declared how after a comparative study of religion and observation of social conditions in the West during his travel in Europe, he realised the greatness of Vedic religion and the soundness of the principles underling the constitution of society in ancient India, which the Arya Samaj sought to revive in the modern world. He added that the Arya Samaj, the teaching of which harmonised the claims of ancient culture with the demands of modern times suited both the conservative and liberal sections of the Hindu community. He concluded by promising to devote

himself to the promotion of the cause of the Samaj in Andhradesa. As usual, several Hindu gentlemen of the higher classes were present on the occasion. After the ceremony, Prof. Sharma was entertained to dinner by Mr. Baji Krishna Rao and partook of same in the company of the host, a Tanjore maratha and Pandit Somantha Rao. an Andhra Brahmin, and others.

Shuddhi in Madras

Srimati Kamla Devi and Bhardwaj Sarma were initiated into Vedic Dharma on 26th August and Srimati Kamla Devi was married to Srijut S. Sundaresan on 27th August in the Arya Samaj Mandir, Kankanhalli Road, Basavangudi.

Conference of Kolis, Simla

The 44th Anniversary of the Simla Aryasamaj was celebrated on 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th September. "Hill-Kolian Conference" was held in the Mandir, on 13th, inst.

Specimen of Virility

Mahbub, a Musalman aged 22 is arrested by the Poona Police on the charge of committing rape on a girl about a year and a half old in Shukrawar Peth, who was sent to the Sassoon Hospital. The mother of the infant, who is a Mali by caste, reported the matter to the police.

[The Liberators, 23 September, 1926]

THE BARDOLI MUDDLE

On 13th October 1921 Gandhiji wrote in Young India an article under the heading- "The fear of death." In the course of that article he wrote : -

"When we attain Swaraj many of will us given up the fear of death .... Till now mostly young boys have died in the cause. Those who died in Aligarh were all below 21. No one knew who they were. If Government resort to firing now, I am hoping that some men of the first rank

will have the opportunity of offering up the supreme sacrifice."

Again when repression was in full swing and Jails were being filled up by non-violent non-co-operating patriots Gandhiji wrote in Young India of 22nd December, 1921 : - "A cautious friend ..... tells me that suffering has only just begun, that for the ends in view we must pay a much higher price still. He really expects tat we shall have to invite a repetition of jallianwala .... I assure the friend that my optimism as room for all these things and much worse than he can imagine. But I perceive, too, that if India remains calm and unperturbed and does not retaliate even mentally - a very difficult process, I admit, and yet not so difficult in India's present exalted mood - our very preparedness and consequent absence of reaction, and Lord Reading will exhaust the brute spirit instead of talking big things to us, will himself adopt the human language of penitence and see ample occasion in Indian atmosphere for a new diplomacy."

The misery of the whole situation was that the "ifs" of the Mahatma were almost always ignore even by educated men, and the condition laid down by the optimistic Mahatma being completely ignored, the followers, without resorting to introspection, took it for granted that what Mahatmaji expected of them had actually become an accomplished fact.

After the collapse of the Malviya Conference at Bombay, the Bardoli Satyagrah Committee of which Mr. Vallabh Bhai Patel had been appointed President by Mahatma Gandhi - met at Bardoli, of which a report appeared in Young India dated 2nd February, 1922. Let me cull a few extracts from it : - "There was an audience of Khaddar-clad representatives numbering 4000 (The whole population of Bardoli being 85000). There were 500 women, a large majority of whom were also in Khaddar.... I took the sense of the meeting on every one of the conditions separately. They understood the implications...... There was one dissentient voice on the question of untouchability. He said, what I said was right

in theory but it was difficult in practice to break sown the custom all of a sudden. I drove the point home that the audience had made up its mind."

I have already shewn in a previous article that untouchablity had not gone out of Bardoli. Those, who met the untouchables in public meeting before Gandhiji, bathed with their clothes on when they returned home. Gandhiji had his own doubts about the fulfilment of the promises of Bardoli people and writes in the same article :-

"Before that (public) meeting, Vithalbhai Patel, some workers and I conferred together and felt that we should pass a resolution postponing the decision for about a fortnight, the make the Swadeshi preparation more complete and removal of untouchability more certain by actually having untouchable children in all the sixty national Schools. The brave and earnest workers of Bardoli will not listen to the postponement. They were certain that more them 50 per cent of the Hindu population were quite ready about untouchability and they were sure of being able to manufacture enough Khaddar for their future wants. They were bent on trying conclusions with the Government. "

I was sorry to see Mahatmaji caries away by the enthusiasm of the moment. Being quite ready did not mean that the goal had actually been reached.

Chauri-Chaura was written in the destiny of the India Nation and it came like a thunderbolt. The reaction would not have been so crushing if preparation had not been announced with a flourish of trumpets. Before leaving his Sabarmati Ashram for bardoli, Mahatma Gandhi met more than a quarter lakh of people in the sands on the banks of Sabarmati river. The occasion was unique. The lion-cloth clad uncrowned King of the people speaking in burning words with all the strength at his command : - "I wish there were several Jallianwalas in Gujrat. I wish I would be killed by the British bullets. I wish Gujratis be killed by the British bullets.... and so on." When that simple speech of about five sentences was flashed by write, the

whole country was electrified. But the collapse was terrible.

I was, all along, against taking any hasty steps and when, even after reading the Chauri Chaura tragedy in the papers Mahatma Gandhi went on with his rejoinder to Lord Reading and published it, I sent the following telegram to Gandhiji, at Bardoli : -

"Horrible Chauri Chaura affair. Kindly stop aggressive propaganda. Call All-India meeting Delhi. Devise new programme."

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Tragedy Averted

A Vaishya Srimali Bania girl, who had, at the age of eleven, been betrothed against her will to an old man of fifty for the sake of a handsome dowry by her mother, has now married a young man. It is understood the Maharaja of Rampur, from where the girl comes, was approached in the matter without any effect.

THURSDAY, 23rd September, 1926.

CAUGHT NAPPING

ANAND BHAWAN :

Allahabad, September 17, 1926.

Dear brother Shraddanandji,

I have just seen the issue of the "Liberator" dated the 16th September. In the article headed "The Coming Election" which appears over your singnature the following passage sccurs : -

"Pandit Nehru has tried to explain the real difference in an aphorism. The Swarajya party, according to him, is a kshatriya determined to snatch Swarajya out of the unwilling hands of the Government, while the other combined parties are Banias (not Vaishyas even, mind you) standing with their begging bowls at the door of the British bureaucracy."

I wish you had made sure of your facts before you

indulged in the comments which follow the passage I have quoted and in the course of which you dilate on the respective attributes of a "Kshatriya" and a "bragging coward." I never tries to explain the differences between the parties in the way you say I did nor was I the author of the aphorism you attribute to me. I was merely quoting from the speech delivered by Lala Lajpat Rai at Bradlaugh Hall Lahore on the 27th March last. The text of the speech was in my hand and I gave the very words used by Lalaji which ran as follows : -

"Do not sell your birthright for a mess of pottage. Do not barter liberty and freedom for a few temporary advantages. Yes, Ministers can certainly do some good. But what is the valu of that good as compared with the loss of psychology that results there from, and which may mean a death knel to all hopes of liberty ?

"We want a policy of discriminate wisdom and statecraft combined with the spirit of a Rajput. A policy of petty calculations and profits in the spirit of a bania wo'nt help us. Instead of blaming the Swarajists for a change of policy , you should praise them."

It has since been brought to my notice that the distorted summary of the report of my speech published in certain anti-Swarajist papers attributed these remarks to me. This is only one of the numerous instances of mendacious propaganda now being carried on against us . I enclose a cutting from the "Forward" which contains the full text of my speech and have marked the relevant passage in blue.

It hope you will transfer the cap to where it fits and relieve me of the ugly burden.

You have made two other serious mis-statements of facts in the opening passage of your article. I do not know who told you that I "backed out of the Madrasee colleagues" or "that I advised the President of the Sabarmati Pact at the treat of the Madrasee colleagues" or "that I advised the President of the Congress to refuse to call a meeting of the A.I.C.C." Neither statement is true. Whatever I did

respect of the "Sabarmati Pact" was the immediate result of the interview given by Mr. Kelkar to the Press on the very day the "Pact" was informally agreed upon. The position I took was publicly declared by the me at the Allahabad District Conference which was held on my return from Sabarmati before I had heard from or seen any Madrasi or other colleagues. As for my advising the President to refuse to call a meeting of the A.I.C.C., on occasion ever arose to offer any such advice as no requisition was received, to my certain knowledge, by the President up to the morning of the 12th Sept. when I left Delhi though the fact that signatures were being obtained on such a requisition was being advertised by the Responsivist Press for some days previously. Whether "the Swaraj Party is leading its forlorn hope severely alone" (whatever that my mean), let me advise you to wait and see.

Yours sincerely,
Motilal Nehru.

I gladly find room for the foregoing letter from brother Motilalji. I am sorry have been caught napping. I read about Kshatriya and Bania spirit in an 'anti-Swarajist' paper and wrote at once. Nehruji had sent to me a cutting of the "Forward" in which the actual speech appears. It was after all a quotation from Lala Lajpat Rai's speech. What a wonderful change in Lalaji within six months ! My eyes have been opened. The speeches of the parties are, as a policy, mutilated by partisan papers. It would be well if reporters minded their own real duty and did not proselytise themselves into propagandists for any party. It is open for a reader of the faithful report of Panditji's speech as published in the "Forward" to argue that he quotes Lalaji's utterance with approval. However, I am willing to accept Panditji's description of it as "the ugly burden."

As regards the two other mis-statements (as they are called by brother Motilalji), I have only to say that it is my conjecture only based on what appeared in the papers of the opposing parties. But as regards my assertion as

to his being the de facto and Mrs. Naidu the de jure President of the Congress, I cannot change my mind.

My frank apology to brother Motilalji and thanks for the consideration he has shown me.

Shraddhanand Sanyasi

My Resignation from the Hindu Mahasabha

An A.P. Message from Lucknow, appeared in the papers telling the public that I had resigned from the Hindu Mahasabha. The Editor of 'Tej' wrote to me asking for confirmation. I gave him my original resignation which appeared in 'Tej' of Saturday last. I had no mind to make a display of my resignation. But it appears that some member (from Lucknow) of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, before which my resignation was placed thought it proper to give the intelligence to the public. I want to clear my position about this so that the Press of Northern India may not complicate matters by soaring in the realms of conjecture.

Sometime last year when Pandit Malviyaji went to preside over the Haryana Hindu Conference at Rohtak, a resolution was placed before the Subjects Committee by a Gaur Brahman advocating the remarriage of child widows. Although Malviyaji was known to be strongly in favor of remarriage of child-widow, yet he wanted to shuffle the matter with the ostensible object of taking with him even those Sanatanist members of the Sabha who were opposed to the reform . When pressed malviyaji said he would leave the open session and then they could pass whatever they liked. All present were in a fix. On one side Pandit Nekiramaji and Bhai Parmanandaji were haranguing the reformers to work for the reform outside and not to press for the resolution within the Sabha's Conference. Business was being blocked when I saved the situation by inducing the Harianah people, who were unanimous, to withdraw the resolution and promised to bring the matter before the Annual Session of the Mahasabha at Delhi.

But malviyaji again asked me to refrain from pressing my resolution because he thought it would disturb the harmony of the Hindu Mahasabha. I was pledge to press my resolution as long as I was a member of the Sabha. To save the Sabha from further complications I withdrew my proposal about the remarriage of child widows in the Subjects Committee for which I was thanked by all. I may mention, by the way, that the same resolution was placed before a Mass Meeting of 8000 persons in the Shuddhi Sabha Pandal and was, after full and free discussion, carried unanimously. There were only some 500 Arya Samajists present and they were asked not to vote.

In the Hindu Sabha Conference held in the 2nd week of March 1926 at Delhi, the question of the Sabha sponsoring candidates for the Councils came before the Subjects Committee. What my attitude there was is well explained on page 4 of the "Liberator" of 22nd April 1926. In the open session Mr. Jairamdas Daulat Ram of Sindh was the only member who stood up with me and Lala Dunichand to oppose the proposal about Council elections. I spoke strongly to Malviyaji about the Hindu Sabha drifting towards communal politics which was not its original aim and pressed him to allow for an appeal for funds and to start practical work of Shuddhi and Dilitoddhar on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha. The excuse put forward was that there were no workers. In reply I promised to get the Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha wound up, its funds to be placed at the disposal of the Hindu Mahasabha and offered my own services for taking over charge of and working the Shuddhi and Dalitoddhar propaganda with the Sangathan movement with my own workers. I assured Panditji that this practical work would put life into the movement. But the only reply I got was that the Hindu Mahasabha should be left free of all encumbrances and all the practical work would be done without compromising the Sabha. My disappointment can well be conceived.

But when the Working Committee went far beyond the resolution passed by the Hindu Mahasabha Conference and gave freedom to the Panjab Provincial Sabha to set up its own candidates in every case, I had no course left to me but to resign from a Sabha which was going beyond its prescribed aims and objects.

The Hindu Mahasabha is practically in the hands of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviyaji. Whether Lalaji be President or the Rajah saheb the de facto ruler of the Hindu Mahasabha is brother Malviyaji as Nehruji is the defacto ruler of the Congress at the Hindu Mahasabha and to help a political party to defeat its opponents. I am of opinion that the game of bluff played by the Swaraj party is not the need of the day, I believe that Responsive Co-operation can alone save the situation ; but I am against any of these political parties acting on purely communal lines. If the Muslims do not join you it is their fault, but that is no reason for you to make your party a purely Hindu political organization. In short my resignation means that as the Hindu mahasabha has become politically communal, I can have no hand in working its programme . I can have no hand in working its programme. I could have worked purely for social reform under it, but that is impossible because Malviyaji, who is Hindu Mahasabha personified, does not think that the Sabha would last if implicated in Shuddhi, Dalit Uddhar and other reforms. I am now free to work for the revivifying of the Vedic Dharma according to my own lights without the fear of interference by those to whom social, moral and religious reform is only subordinate to their communal political aggrandisement.

I append copies of my original resignation and of the forwarding letter to the Office Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

TO- SHRI PANDIT DEVARATNA SHARMA,
Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I forward for your information a copy of my letter of resignation from the Hindu Sabha organization, which I have sent to the Secretary of the local Hindu Sabha. Kindly note my resignation in your register.

Yours,
Shraddhanand.

TO - LALA RANGBEHARI LAL, Vakil,
Secretary, Hindu Sabha, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

When I sent in my resignation from the membership of the Hindu Mahasabha last time, it was objected to for the reason that until I resigned from the local Hindu Sabha which had sent me as representative, they could not accept my resignation. On that occasion I was prevailed upon to withdraw my resignation. But since the Mahasabha has allowed the different Provincial Hindu Sabhas to set up indiscriminately our candidates for the Assembly and the Councils ad some Provincial Sabhas have actually begun to act upon it, I feel that I can not longer conscientiously remain a member of the Hindu Mahasabha organization. Moreover I find that not only does the Hindu Mahasabha not think it its are urgently needed to save the Hindu society from utter ruin, but that it hampers its members in their practical working in that sphere.

For these reasons I beg to resign from the membership of the local Hindu Sabha. Kindly inform the office Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha of your having received my resignation.

Yours,
Shraddhananda.

Shuddhi work in Andhra

According to the last census the largest in Christian numbers, both actually and proportionally, has been in the

East Coast North Division of the madras Presidency. Every district except Ganjam contributed to this increase. Kistna dist. headed the list by contributing 41224 persons to Christianity. Now again, when the work of reclamation has been started, it is the same dist. of Kistna which is returning large numbers. During the last eight months, from this dist. alone, more than three thousand Christians have reconverted and readmitted into their respective brotherhoods. And still the applications for Shuddhi are pouring in. Owing to heavy monsoon season, our mission is not finding it possible nowadays to go to the interior parts of the district and carry out the work of Reclamation. The following are the persons who have been reconverted by our mission in the current month so far : -

VillagePersons.
Tamaresa 2
Chevendra 7
Kavaleshwar . . .
Total 11

13th Sept. 1926. Keshv Dev Gnani.

Prayers of Untouchables

Resolved to request the Government to issue definite instructions to the Executive Officers of this district to omit the use of the terms Pallan, Parayan, Chuklan etc. etc. in Government records and also issue orders prohibiting their officers addressing pupils of the Adi-Dravida community by the aforesaid names.

Resolved to request the Government and the District Collector to issue instructions to all Village Officers directing them to see that all carcases are buried in deep pits coated with chunam on its sides thus giving no room for temptation to the depressed classes who are addicted to eating the flesh of carcasses.

Resolved to request Government to issue instructions to the authorities not to sent the Darkhast Petitions of the Adi-Dravidas to the Village Officers for expression of

opinions as it had been found to be detrimental to the interest of the Adi Dravidas.
Resolutions of an Adi-Dravida Conference.

Depressed Classes in Trechinopoly

Mr. Paddison, Labour Commissioner has sanctioned Rs. 1500 for constructing a school at Varaganery for Koravars and the Depressed Classes. He has also sanctioned the establishment of 5 more schools in the Criminal centres of the Trichinopoly District viz. Dhulipatti, Thogamalai, Moottakampatti, and two other Koravar villages. The Municipal Council of Trichinopoly has also given a site gratis at Varaganery.

The Governor of Bombay to Untouchables

H.E. Sir Leslie Wilson. Governor of Bombay visited Khandesh District (East) and was present-several addresses one of which was by the Depressed Classes. Replying to this address Sir. Leslie Wilson said : -

"I think you are all aware that untouchability is not a thing for which the Government is in any way responsible. It is not a system of which they approve but on the contrary it is one, the operation of which they have consistently opposed.

"You have placed before me a list of no less than 14 specific demand and I feel quite certain you do not expect me to reply in detail to each one of your requests. I think you must yourselves feel that the realisation of some of these request cannot take place in the immediate future for very obvious reasons, and with regard to the others, I can only say now that they will be very carefully considered - an answer not entirely satisfactory but one which is obviously necessary as your requests over a very wide field and many of them require very close examination. With every desire to assist you it is impossible for Government to proceed too far in advance of public opinion, and when we are anxious to help you in every way, we are certainly

faced with aware of. It is for the members of the Depressed Classes to educate public opinion and influence it in their favour by improving their own social surroundings and by taking advantage of those educational facilities which we have placed within the reach of all members of the Depressed Classes.

Untouchables in Madras

The Madras Legislative Council passed on 31-8-26. a bill amending the Local Boards Act. The Amendment has removed the disability, from suffer, in the matter of entry into public markets conducted by Local bodies and the use of public streets and roads. Any act preventing any class of people from entering public roads, pathways and markets, is liable to be penalised by means of fines. Mr. Veerian M.L.C., the redoubtable fighter of the Depressed Classes, pointed out in the Council how even the decision of the High Court was set at naught - (even as the Privy Council decision regarding music on highways is defied by executive Magistrates and the Police.)

Hindu Punch

The "Hindu Punch" of Calcutta has brought out a special Krishna number. It has been profusely illustrated with fifteen charming pictures and other drawings. It gives the story of Sri krishna in a nutshell, a very readable composition. Besides there are to found a number of instructive articles dealing with the hero from several viewpoints.

The Reviews

The Modern Review of the month of September contains three very important articles (1) The shame of India by Lala Har Dayal (2) The uplift movement in India by Prof. Upendra Nath Ball and (3) Sanyasi Rebellion in Bengal by Brajendra Nath Bannerjee.

The Indian Review for the month of August contains (1) Women of India by Justice C.V.K. Sastri (2) Unity of Asia and (3) Poland in Ferment.

The Village

Mr. Lloyd George said of Great Britain : -

" I am one of those who believe firmly that the salvation of this country depends on the restoration of the countryside. Nations with exhausted nerves need recuperation and the nation that has not got a live, vigorous countryside is ultimately doomed. We have gained our prosperity very largely out of the vitality of our people. That vitality is being drawn from the countryside into the mines drawn into the factories, drawn into the towns downs, and drawn into the slums. That is a mistake for the country, and I am hopeful that a time will come when men of all parties will begin to realise that the permanent good of this country depends on its wakening up to the need for an essential improvement in the countryside, upon its own vitality and continued usefulness in the world."

Self-Government

We reproduce a few sentences from a speech of Senator Reid of Australia : -

"Last year I visited India, a country with a population of 32,00,00,000 and I realised then, more than I had ever before, the necessity of increasing our population ...... India could carry its own population comfortable, and provide its people with all the necessaries of life but for the misgovernment that has arisen through British interference. It is one of the richest countries in the world. It had a system of land tenure and civilization when the people in the British Isles were savages and there was no poverty there until the advent of the British .... I am a firm believer in granting self-Government to India. India is the mother of Asia. Her population is equal to one-fifth of the population of the world. The granting of self-Government of India would mean safety to Australia, because the whole of the resources of India would then be at the disposal of the British Empire. That Empire will never achieve its

purpose or occupy its proper place in the world until India is given a Dominion's status and the right of self - Government within the Empire."

Education of Untouchables

"Most Provinces report a satisfactory increase in the number of scholars belonging to the Depressed Classes. For example Behar and Orissa show an increase of 51 schools for the Untouchables and on less than 50 per cent in attendance at such schools . Even more satisfactory is the fact that many of these children are now admitted into ordinary schools. In Madras, for example, the number of Adi-Drivida and Adi-Andhra children reading in ordinary school increase by 50 per cent to about 13000." Government Report.

[The Liberators, 23 September, 1926]

Donation to Bihar Hindu Sabha

The Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha deputation led by Kumar Ganganand Sing M.A., M.L.A., President and Babu Jagatnarain Lal, Secretary waited upon the Raja Bahadur Krityanand Singhji, at Champanagar and Garh Beneilly respectively. The Rajabahadur and the Kumarsaheb received the Deputation very courteously and sympathetically and were pleased to announce an annual donation of Rs. 2500 towards the Provincial Sabha for a period of five years from the Raj. The Baneilly Raj is one of those well-known Rajs of Bihar which have always led the cause of literary and social reform and by the present laudable donation they have set an example for the province for which the Behar Hindus cannot be too grateful to the Raj, the Rajabahadur and its eminent scions. And from this very Raj family comes the present President of Behar Provincial Hindu Sabha, Kumar Ganganand Singhji of Srinagar, who has by his learning, service and public spiritedness, already endeared himself to the people.

Behar Hindu Sabha to Watch

In a village called Rani Khatanga near Ranchi (Behar and Orissa), a serious fight took place between Mahomedans and Aborigines, (Koles and Uraons). It is reported that two Mahomedans were killed on the spot. Of course the Police are making vigorous inquiries. While at Nagpur some Mahars have been arrested although mahomedans deliberately and wantonly attacked the Mahars' Ganpati Procession, on

Mahomedan as, so far, been arrested in connection with this riot at Rani Khatanga. The Working Committee of the Behar Provincial Hindu Sabha must espouse the cause of the poor and helpless aborigines.

Hindu Sabha Work

A correspondent of Uska Bazar Basti writes : - "A Hindu Sabha has been organised here for the last more than a year. And it has performed wonders even in its childhood.

About two months ago Local Missionary had taken two boys of a Mallah, but on getting information, they had been delivered to their parents through strenous efforts of the volunteers of the Sabha.

The executive has resolved unanimously to hold a general meeting in the Hanuman Garhi, where not less than one thousand persons attend on every Agyaras. The speeches delivered on the occasion mostly concern with that of 'Go Raksha', Hindu Sangathan, Suddhi etc.

In this way, every Hindu here has made it his point of view to follow Hindu Sabha orders.

Even yesterday, a Brahman boy of 25, of somewhere near Mirzapur, who had embraced 'Christianity' and was baptized as Mr. Duta has been recovered to Hinduism. Now he has been named Vishnu Duta Sharma. Everybody present ate from his hand. He has been employed in Sabha office. The prominent persons like Choudhri Shyamlalji, Babu Sheobux Rai and were present.

Principles and not Persons or Parties

Some old colleagues of the Satyagrah and non-co-operation days ask me whether I have come beck to work in political arena and whether I could help this or that party during the coming elections. It is difficult to send personal replies to so many querists and therefore I am taking advantage of my paper to set the doubts of my friends and well-wishers at rest. My present views about and

connection with the Indian National Congress work are exactly the same as they were exactly two year ago. Writing under the heading - " My present views and Future programme" - in the Lahore 'Tribune' dated September 21st 1924 I wrote : -

"First, as regard my political views. Writing in the Urdu Daily 'Tej' of Delhi, from 6th to 12th April 1924, I discussed the present political movement in six lengthy articles. The conclusion at which I arrived was that : -

(a) The Punjab wrongs having become a question of the past and never being mentioned even in Congress resolutions and the Khilafat question having been taken out of practical Indian politics by the sword and subsequent reformatory action of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha, the only question remaining before Political India for solution. was the attainment of Swarajya by peaceful and legitimate means.

(b) The end at which the Indian National Congress aimed was therefore definitely before the nation. It only remained to examine the means by which that end was to be gained. The means I divided into two parts, i.e. constructive and destructive programmes.

(c) The constructive programme has now been reduced by Mahatma Gandhi to three items, namely, Removal, of Untouchability, Hindu Muslim Unity and Charkha.

As regards removal of untouchability, it has been authoritatively ruled several times , that it is the duty of the Hindus should have nothing to do with it. But the Mohammedan and Christian Congressmen have openly revolted against this dictum of Mahatma Gandhi at Vaikom and other places. Even such an unbiased leader as Mr. Yakub Hussain, presiding over a meeting called to present addresses to me at Madras, openly enjoined upon Musalmans the duty of converting all the untouchables of India to Islam. The work being a purely Hindu business it ought to be left to the Hindus. If it is allowed to remain a part of the constructive programme of the Congress it would complicate matters and might act as one of the causes of accentuating Hindu Muslim tension.

As regards Hindu-Muslim Unity, the Congress cannot succeed in re-uniting them unless the movement starts internally among both the parties. It is not Congressmen but those out of Congress whose interest lies in setting both the great communities by the ears and they can only be checkmared and controlled if the Hindu and Muslim Central organizations are properly constituted and work with a will. Mahatma Gandhi commands the willing homage of Hindu and Muslim Congressmen but people cry hoarse over "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai" while at the same time they are engaged in undermining all the good work that he is doing.

There remains only Charkha and I will bless the day when Mahatma Ji succeeds in including all the rowdy and turbulent elements among the Hindus and the Musalmans to sit patiently spinning, even it is for half an hour a day. This will have a healthy effect in weaning them from communal and other mischiefs. If it is a fact that even Mrs. Besant and Messrs Natrajan and Jaikar are ready to take to Charkha, there remains no doubt that the masses and even the classes will follow suit.

(d) The destructive programme is also considerably reduced now. As regards the three-feld or five-fold boycotts, it is acknowledged on all hands that they have failed to paralyze the Government ; and that was the only use to which they were to be put. Mahatma Ji may not admit this in so many words but his willingness of suspend all boycotts, if India as a whole takes to Charkha is proof positive that even he acknowledges that the five-fold scheme of boycotts has failed to bring us nearer Swarajya. So the boycotts have gone now de jure as they had passed away de facto some two years ago.

As regards the rest of the destructive programme it consisted of individual civil disobedience and an idle and important threat of resorting to mass Civil Disobedience when an atmosphere of non-violence was obtained in the country. I pressed upon the All-India Congress Committee,

which met at Delhi during the last week of February 1922, to give up both the items, if they laid down the condition of the atmosphere becoming non-violent My amendment to the Delhi resolution was moved on 24th February 1922 and ran as follows : -

"Add the following at the end of to-day's additional resolution : - The All-India Congress Shall not be responsible for any violence committed by persons outside the Congress Organization and in the case of any individual member of the Congress being guilty of violence he shall be expelled from all Congress Committees and bodies.

If the above amendment is rejected, then I moved - that all Civil Disobedience, whether individual or mass be abandoned for the future."

Mahatma Gandhi having asked me to withdraw my amendment because i' would embarrass him in the meeting , I complied with h.s request but made it plain to him that I would take no part in Executive work of the Congress after that. After Mahatma Ji's incarceration in jail I was urged by leaders like Shriyut Vithal Bhai Patel, Hakim Mohd. Ajmal Khan and others to take charge of the removal of untouchability department. I went to attend the All-India Congress Committee meeting in June 1922 at Lucknow but the policy of the Working Committee in connection with that subject disgusted me and I left the Congress for good.

My present view is that non-co-operation with the Government should not remain a plank in the Congress Programme, that the Congress should work on the basis of responsive co-peration, that all nationalists whether independents, librals conventionists,, or to whatever other political parti they might belong, should be invited to join the Congress with open arms, that the present law of the land should not be defied as that would produce anarchy even among different communities inhabiting our motherland and that efforts should be made to get bad laws repealed. I think it better for the people to go to law courts for settling their disputes rather than take the law in their own

hands and break each other's hands. Of course right of private defence of person and property ought to be conscientiously exercised without which bullies and hooligans cannot be brought under control.

I have no connection with any of the political parties at this time and there is hence no use addressing me no these subjects.

(e) Personally, I am the oldest non-co-operationist among the present workers. Since I attained majority I never went to the law courts for the protection of my person, property or reputation. I gave up my practice as a lawyer 27 years ago no conscientious grounds. As a member of the D.A.V. College Committee at Lahore my vote was cast against accepting grant-in-aid from the Government. I escaped all temptations put in my way to induce me to get the Kangriri Gurukula affiliated to Government Universities.

But the whole of my conduct was really non violent in the sense that it was never intended to paralyze the Government. I have to admit that the so-called non-violent non-co-operation initiated by Mahatma Ji became violent in irresponsible hands. I have no hesitation in confessing that I have completely changed views about it."

Since writing the above the attitude of the Swarajya party in the Assembly and the Councils has strengthened my conviction that the Gauhati Session of the Congress ought definitely to take a bold step and throw open the doors of the National Parliament to Indians of every political view and taking its courage in both hands ought to give a chance to Lukmanya Tilak's policy of Responsive Co-operation since the policy of non-violent non-co-operation inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi has completely failed.

As regards myself, I shall remain a four anna paying member of the Congress, if for no other purposes, to show the way to every Indian not to forget that the bonds of slavery, which they are bearing, ought to be severed one day.

The Musalmans are taking good care not to yield their communal bias to the claims of nationality. The Hindus ought to be above such partly considerations, but they should not forget that the chance of Indias getting Swarajya rests on the solidarity of the Hindus who should not endanger their existence by seeking to coniliate those who refuse to be conciliated.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES

At Nawadah

A correspondent from Nawadah (Behar and Orissa) writes:-

On Friday (10th Sep. 1926) a procession was organised and passed through all the principal streets and lanes of the city with music which was not stopped at any point. It was joined by several thousand Hindus. In the evening a crowded meeting was held and was addressed by Pandit Sri Ram Ugreh Sarma who dwelt on the necessity of Sangathan. Of course some Mahomedans intended to create trouble, as their virility would have, otherwise, been likely to be called in question. But Khan Saheb Syed Mahommad Khan attended the meeting and spoke a few words on Hindu-Muslim Unity.

At Nagpur

The Musalmans of Nagpur (C.P.) proved their virility by breaking up a Ganpati procession led by about two thousand Mahars headed by Mr. Meshram a Municipal Councillor and their love of Islam by breaking the image of Ganpati.

At Aligarh

The Ramlila Committee has decided to abandon the celebration of Ramlila this year as the District Magistrate wanted the Ramlila Committee to stop processional music before mosques. The Committee has informed him that the restrictions are unjust and unreasonable.

At Mehkar

A report from Mehkar in the Buldana District says that the Ganpati procession had to be abandoned as music with the procession was stopped near a mosque. Hartal was observed for one day to demonstrate Hindus' emphatic indignation.

At Darwha (Berar.)

A music and bhajan party in the Ganpatai procession at Darwha having been stopped by the Magistrate on a public road in the vicinity of a mosque, the Hindus have resolved not to immerse the images without being allowed to take them in procession with full music. A strong committee of members belonging to all caste has been formed to take steps to assert the right of passing with music on public roads.

Education of Untouchables,

In the Madras Legislative Council, the following questions asked by the Depressed Classes leader Mr. R.Veeri and M.L.C. and the following answers were given by the Hon'ble Minister for Education : -

Q. Will the Hon. the Minister for Education be pleased to state. - (a) how many applications were received up to this for starting Panchayat schools as per G.O. No. 756 Law (Education, dated 1st May 1926 ; (b) how many Panchayat schools have been started till now ; (c) who is the controlling authority in respect of these Panchayat schools ; (d) whether any announcement has been made to the effect that whenever Panchayat schools are started no caste or other distinctions

should be observed and that all classes should be admitted as per G.O. No. 329 (Education) Home Department, dated 17th March 1919 ; (e) how many separate Panchayat schools have been started up to this for depressed classes; and (f) by whom teachers are appointed to these Panchayat schools ?

A. (a) 739 application have been received up to date (b) Orders sanctioning the opening of 300 Panchayat schools have been issued. Reports of the actual opening of the schools sanctioned have been received in 262 cases up to date ; (c) the schools are under the control of the village panchayats concerned. They are subject to inspections by the inspecting officers of the department and have to recognised by the District Educational Councils. The provincial grants for the maintenance of the schools are disbursed by the Registar - General of Panchayats ; (d) one of the conditions subject to which the opening of panchayat schools are sanctioned by the Registrar-General provides that the Panchayat should provide and maintain to the satisfaction of the Registrar - General a building suitable for the purposes of a school on a site accessible to all communities. The Government also have laid down similar rules ; (e) one of the Panchayat schools established by the Marutadu Panchayat in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district and the schools opened by the Mansapuram Panchayat in the Srivilliputtur Taluka of the Ramnad district are intended to serve the depressed classes only. The schools establishes at Melsishamangalm of the Cheyyar taluk in the North Arcot district and at Periapottalpatti of the Sattur taluk in the Ramnad district are expected to serve mainly the needs of Adi-Dravidas. The depressed classes are entitled to admission in the remaining Panchayat schools also ; (f) the power to appoint teachers in Panchayat schools is vested in the Panchayats themselves subject to the approval of the President, Taluk Board concerned and in cases where a Panchayat and a Taluk Board President do not agree on two consecutive occasions in the filling up of a post, the

matter is referred to the Registar-general whose orders on the question are final.

Sri Narayana Gurukula

A new branch of the Sri Narayana Gurukula has recently been opened at Varkala, Travancore. Varkala is a Railway Station between Quillon and Trivandrum and is one of the finest Sanatoriums in South India noted for its salubrious climate, its mineral springs and its gentle seabreeze. His Holiness Sri Narayana Guru, who has his abode in this place, has recently placed all his educational institutions under the direction of Mr. P. Natarajan M.A.L.T. who will make Varkala his headquarters for some time to come. The institutions include two Sanskrit Schools, three normal and Vocational Boarding Schools of the Gurukula type, an English Secondary School, a Malayalam Schools and a Weaving School. All those who wish to help any of these in any way or wish to send students to them may write to Mr. Natrajan at Sivagiri Varkala, Travancore or to Mr. B.D. Mukherjea, B.A. Fernhill (Nilgiris), who is at present in charge of the Gurukula at Fernhill.

It is proposed to build small cottages consting between five and seven hundred rupees on the Gurukula grounds at Fernhill (Nilgiris). These are for the use of season visitors, who should consent not to kill animals for food on the premises. Those, who pay for such cottages, will be in possession of them only for their lifetime. It is expected that a number of these retreats will be put up before the beginning of the next season. Those who are interested in the scheme may correspond with either of the above mentioned gentlemen.

A Tragedy

The death of Swami Satyavrata is a very great tragedy and the loss to the Depressed Classes of the South West Coast of India generally and to the Tiyyas of Malabar in particular is irreparble. Swami satyavrata was the right hand

man of Sri Narayana Guru Swami, the spiritual head of the Tiyyas of Malabar and Travancore. The Depressed Classes of that territory held the deceased in great veneration which he richly deserved by his unfailing and continues work for improving their condition. More than two million Tiyyas are mourning his death. His life was one of love and sacrifice. Born a Nair, he gave up the privileges of his caste, a rich home and aged parents and devoted his days to elevate the Tiyyas to a higher moral and material plane. While attending on his old and ailing mother, Swami Satyavrat got an attack of typhoid to which he succumbed. Mere wellwishers of the Depressed Classes are not many. Workers in their interests are fewer. Wholetime and wholehearted workers with love are rare. They are exceptions. It is a veritable tragedy that one of them is snatched away by death at a time when there is to be seen unmistakable evidence of national consciousness in the minds of Tiyyas and other Depressed Classes. The elevation of the Depressed Classes is the elevation of the nation. Therefore the death of Swami Satyavrata is not only a great loss to them but is even a greater loss to the nation at this juncture in the affairs of India.

Revival of Rakhi Day

Messrs. J.M. Sen Gupta, Bepin Chandra Pal, S.C. Bose, Syamsunder Chakravarty, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Leakat Husain Khan and several other prominent citizens of Calcutta have issued the following appeal : -

"A timely suggestion has been made to revive the institution of Rakhi Day and make it once more a really living national sacrament in Bengal. The Rakhi was first used as a symbol of union of the Bengalee people, which was sought to be broken up by Lord Curzon's administrative redistribution of the province and setting up separate administration in the Eastern Bengal. The united opposition of the Bengalee people unsettled the settled fact of the partition of Bengal. Today we are faced with a more serious

division among the Bengalee people owing to the recrudescence of communal menace. This calls for a stronger movement of national union that even what was provoked by Lord Curzon's itt-fated measure. In view of it, has been suggested that the old institution of Rakhi Bandhan may be revived not as a ;political demonstration but as a solemn national sacrament. But the idea, if it is to effectively materialise, must be supported by the representatives of all the different communities of Bengal irrespective of the different communities of Bengal irrespective of the colour of their politics. A conference to consider this matter will be held at the Indian Association Hall."

The conference was accordingly held on 25th instant at which Sjt. Bepin Chandra Pal delivered an impressive speech. The Conference adopted a resolution supporting the idea of reviving Rakhi celebration with the object to promoting amity and spirit of nationalism amongst all sections of communities, irrespective of caste, creed, colour or party. A committee was formed to take immediate steps to organise volunteer force from all communities, to preserve communal peace during the ensuing puja holidays. The Hindu Sabha organisations in Bengal are also taking the necessary constitutional and legitimate steps to secure peace during the Puja holidays.

Indian National Union

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who, with Pandit Motilal Nehru, has proscribed the Hindu mahasabha, presided over the sitting of the Central Khilafat Committee held at Delhi during the last week.

The Indian National Herald

It has been announced that the first issue of the "Indian National Herald" to be edited by the Veteran editor Mr. B.G. Horniman, will be out on 16th October which is the same as Dussera.

Political Importance

"The British won Indian not from the Mughals but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal Empire had broken up. Our final and most perilous wars were neither with the Delhi King, nor with his revolted Muhammadan Viceroys, but with the two Hindu confederacies, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Muhammadan princes fought against us in Bengal, in the Karnatik and in Mysore ; but the longest opposition to the British Conquest of India came from the Hindus. Our last Maratha War dates as late as 1818 and the Sikh confederation was overcome only in 1849."

Sir William Hunter.

Indispensable Buttress

Sir Robert Bruce. editor, "The Glasgow Herald" says : -

"If the Commons or any other public body conducts itself unseemly, the fact may not be suppressed. Newspapers should be the mirror of the activities of the Nation.

"What do we sum up in this Freedom of the Press which we regard as an indispensable butters of a free constitution ?

"As we vie it, the Freedom of the Press is freedom of record all public events without fear or favour ; freedom to discuss all affairs that affect the Commonweal ; freedom to oppose try any wherever and under whatever circumstances it raises its challenge ; freedom to uphold all good causes against prejudice or vested interests - in a word, it is freedom of speech and freedom of thought."

Ludhiana Aryasamaj

The first anniversary of Aryasamaj Chaura Bazar Ludhiana comes of on 29th, 30th and 31st October, 1926.

[The Liberators, 30 September, 1926]

THE CURSE OF PURDAH

The Egyptian lady, Miss Zakiah Suleman, while taking the Hindu to task for the evils of child marriage and other social infirmities prevalent among their community, equally condemned the Musalmans for keeping their better halves under subjection by means of Pardah. Mr. Hafiz ur Rahman B.A. has also, come out with a vigorous article on 'the rigours September. He begins with an unslaught on the poet Shelley who "called the Musalmans fools because he foolishly misunderstand them as believing that come had no soul" Shelley was, perhaps, not wrong in gauging the creed of Islam from the traditions of the Muslim Seraglios rather than from a study of the theories of Mohammedanism as explained by the commentators of the Holy Quran, Shelley could have no forecaste of the transformation achieved in modern Turkey by Ghazi Mustafa Kamal where Burqa has been thrown aside, women have joined the Army as officers and, as the Reuter's telegram date London September 27 says :

"The place of Yildiz, on the Bosphorus, which belonged to Abdul Hamid was opened yesterday as a Municipal Casino with gaming and dancing rooms.

The inangural ball took place in the Merassin Kiosk built by Abdul for the Kaiser's visit. In the vast saloon the gaming tables are overlooked by the Sultan's throne.

There are Special Jazz and Charleston rooms.

More than a hundred prominent Turkish women took part in the inangural dance, to which the Prefecture issued invitations."

But speaking of the Musalmans of India Mr. Rahman exonerates Shelley in these words :

"But Shelley would have been, I dare say, nearer the mark, had be charged with rank absurdity those Musalmans on this side of the Arabian Sea, who treat their women - contrary to the very spirit of equality between man and woman inculcated by Islam and so correctly understood by modern non-Indian Muslim men.... as worse than animals by herding them within the four walls of their houses and not allowing them to go out at least on an airing in the morning or evening, which even cows buffaloes, bullocks, goats, sheep and other animals of the bovine species are not denied by shepherds and herdsmen."

He then controverts the apology of those old fossils who advertise that "women in the Muslim Harams rule like queens,' suggests that such apologists should be kept under Burqa for 24 hours in the heat of Jacobabad and when they are suffocated and perspire to make them feel the enormity of their crime. He calls the condition of the Indian Muslim women as "A tragedy from the cradle to the grave" and after d describing how her health is undermined by the absurd customs of being cooped up in a reserved compartment for a month or so "till she meets her husband for our elderly ladies believe that by living in seclusion...... the face of the bride comes to possess a glow of slyness which adds to her beauty..... Our matrous require to be told that health is real beauty......"

If is a happy sign of the time that not only have Indian Musalmans come forward to condemn 'Pardah' in print but that several of the most enlightened among them have actually discarded Pardah from their homes. And a new evidence comes from Afghanistan shewing that indigenous Muslim States are following in the wake of Turkey in all matters of reform. That Parsi Orientalist, Mr. G.K. Nariman, who spoke so authoritatively, only the other day, about reforms in Persia, had been to Kabul and he told to a Press interviewer on his way back : -

"The State shews impartiality in religious matters, discourages polygamy, adequately subsidizes male and female education and looks after the welfare of the subjects generally. The purda system is waning and the Western style in dress is getting state partronage."

From strict seciusion to public dancing in Turkey and from envelopment in Burqah to patronage of dress in western style is a long jump, but such incongruity is bound to come at the time of sudden reaction. The Hindu journalists are drawing the attention of the reactionary Muslim brethren to this change for the better in Muslim countries, but have they ever thought of the mischief which Ghunghat is playing in their own Community ? Purdah or Ghunghat is an institution of exotic growth in India. Before the Mahammadan invasion of India, purdah was unknown. It was adopted the Hindu from Moslems. It may have had its utility in the time when the youthful beauty of Hindu virgins was unsafe in Northern India, but there is no excuse for it now. It is needless for me to go into the evils of this unnatural system. Some of those who thunder against this system from platforms are found to be the worst offenders when the question of actual practice arrives. Among Muslims purdah has some meaning. They keep their women completely cooped up in the prison of the Haram. But what dose purdah mean among Hindus when their veiled women go about in bazars, and in religious places and are unable to defend themselves against attacks of goondas on their chastity. And the purdah of the Hindu women is displayed only when any of their relations come into sight. Otherwise they are seen to be innocent of even the common etiquettes of female decency. Verily within the folds of purdah are hidden a multitude of evils which cannot be erased until the system is altogether abolished. The Hindus of Northern India (Oudh, U.P., Behar and Bengal) have simply to compare the condition of their womenfolk with the Hindu ladies of Maharashtra and the South in order to find out the cause of the weakness and the troubles of their better halves.

The Press and the platform has done its work; the rescue of Hindu women of Northern India from the depths of superstition in which they have fallen rests now with their male relatives and the leaders of the Hindu Samaj. But real reform will come when the enlightened from amongst Hindu women take the work in their own hands and form a purdah - killing league so that the germs of bondage from which the motherland is suffering, might be completely eradicated.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

THURSDAY, 7th October, 1926.
The Silver Jubilee of the Gurukula.
I

The Gurukula Vishva Vidyalaya (University) in an educational institution opened on the banks of the Ganges on the other side of Hardwar in march 1902. It will complete the 25th year of its existence in the beginning of March next ; hence its Silver Jubilee is to be celebrated from 16th to 22nd March 1927. The present Governor of the institution has appealed for a funded capital of ten lakhs of rupees in order to place the existing colleges, of which the Gurukula University is composed, on a permanent and independent footing financially.

Before joining my own voice to the appeal of the Governor, it would be well to give a history of the institution of told by an eminent American educationist, who lived with the Gurukulites, as a member of the family, for six weeks in 1911 A.D. and used to pay long visits to the Seminary annually till the time his heath. Mr. Phelps had free access to the Boarding and Class Rooms, at all times of day and night without any restriction. He contributed a series of articles to the Pioneer, of which a reprint appeared in pamphlet form. I was, at the time, governor and Achharya of the Gurukula and had not yet changed my name 'Munshirama' as a Grihastha to Shraddhananda as a Sanyasi.

Mr. Myron H. Phelps had long talks with me and the

Gurukula staff and was associated with the Brahmacharies in all their games and holiday wanderings and therefore his description of what he saw as heard was fresh at the time. Let me give Mr. Phelp's description of the Gurukula and its achievements, as they appeared to him, in his own words : -

"A venture in educational methods which throws a strong light upon the views which throws a strong light upon the views which I have put torward in my previous letter and one entirely new to the present age, though only a resurrection, it is said, of ancient institutions, is now going one at Hardwar in this Province. I refer to the celebrated Gurukula. It represents an expenditure of considerably over Rs. 10,00,000 a year, and is education 274 boys, for 16 years each, without charge, for tuition fees or other educational expenses. An experiment more fascinating to the genuine educational expenses. An experiment more fascinating to the genuine educator could hardly be conceived. Much has been indulged as to its character, but I am told that it has never been adequately described in the press. I have been making a study of it for some weeks and believe that I shall be doing a publishing the results of my observations. It is by far the most interesting I have seen in India.

Herbert Spencer has said : -

"Education has for its chief its chief object the formation of character. To curb restive propensities, to awaken dormant sentiments, to strengthen the perceptions and cultivate the tastes, to encourage this feeling and repress that so as finally to develop the child into a man of well proportioned and harmonious nature..........

.... Whatever moral benefit can be effected, must be effected by an education which is emotional rather than intellectual... if in short, you produce a state of mind to which proper behaviour is natural, spontaneous, instinctive, you do some good."

It is precisely the principle which Mr. Spencer advances which is claimed to be the justification of the Gurukula.

It is contended that intellectual training should not be given without the provision of a basis of character ; that it is the worst sort of folly to place a young man in the melee of the battle of life, with its many temptations and pitfalls, without instructing him thoroughly in the nature of life, and developing the moral powers which can alone enable him to stands the strain of the conflict. Without character, intellectual training is thought to be worse than useless.

How can character best be built up ?

Indians versed in their ancient books believe that the best possible method was developed in the ancient Indian Universities. The system of these Universities embodied among other things, it is said, four leading features : -

(1.) The elimination, so far as possible, by isolated location, o' the destructive and corrupting forces permeating all social life to a degree and city life especially.

(2.) The encouragement of desirable traits of character and the correction of undesirable tendencies by the constant watchfulness of devoted and high-minded teacher; the culture of aspiration, reverence, devotion, the fear and love of God, by precept example and most of all by the influences inseparable from close association with men of high ideals.

This precept is cited from Manu : -

"Having taken the pupil, in order to lead him to the Highest the teacher shall first of all teach him the ways of cleanliness and purity of body and mind and good manners and morals .... and more important than all else. how to perform his morning and evening worship (Sandhya.)"

(3.) The development of the power of the will necessary to restrain and control the appeties and the emotions by simple, self-denying and strictly regulated life.

(4.) The provision of a systematic and comprehensive course of instruction in the moral, ethical and religious literature of India.

These influences and methods maintained during the

whole of youth are expected to produce with certainly men of strong and high principles, devoted to the service of God and man, as they have, it is said, produced such men in the past.

Lord Curzon said in his Dacca speech, refering to the provision of proper hostels or boarding-houses for students : -

"I believe that the extension of the system will do more for student life in India and will exercise a more profound influence upon the future of the race than any other reform that can be conceived."

An enlargement and perfection of the features of the hostel are found, with other features added, in the Gurukula.

The Gurukula was established in 1902, chiefly through the efforts of the present Principal and Governor, Mr. Munshi Ram formerly a successful pleader of Jullunder. Mr. Munshi Ram was by nature an earnest and devout man. He became a member of the Arya Samaj in 1885. How the Gurukula came to be started will be best stated in his own words:

'It is all suggested," he said to me., "in Swami Dayanand's book, Satyarth Prakash. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore was started in 1885 to carry out his idea. A difference of opinion arose as to whether English and Science, or the Vedas, should be given first place in the school. This was in 1891. Up to that time we had all worked for the College,

"I was among those who thought that the true spirit of the religious reform which we all had at heart could only be carried out with the help of a school primarily devoted to re-establishing the principles and authority of the Vedas in the lives of men. Those who held the view that English and Science were the most important declared that the rest of us were religious fools and barred us from the management of the college. Then we turned our energies into the line of preaching the religion. In time we keenly felt the necessity to a school. I wished one for the education of my two sons, and secured the co-operation 13 others

to establish it. Our object was a school where strong and religious character could be built up on the basis of pure Vedic instruction. We recognised two great wants of the people-men of character and religious unity - and we set out to do what we could to supply these wants. Our primary aim is simply to give our boys the best moral and ethical training it is possible to give them- to make of them good citizens and religious men and to teach them to love learning for learning's sake. Our mode is the great Universities of ancient India such as that of Taxilla near Rawalpindi, where thousands of students congregated, and which were thousands of students congregated, and which were supported, as were also the students who attended them, by the munificence of the State and wealthy citizens.

"The managing committee of the Samaj (that is, of our section of the Samaj; there had been a split, caused not, as some have said, by questions as to meat-eating alone, but by the educational differences as well) soon after took up our scheme. They authorized the starting of a Gurukula when Re. 30,000 should be subscribed and Rs. 8,000 of it paid in. The project hung fire for some months : then I went out myself to raise money. I was not satisfied with Rs. 8,000 and secured Rs. 30,000 in cash in a short time. Then we started it.

"I was not at that time engaged in active business, having retired a short time before from practice of law, finding it uncongenial, and not having yet undertaken any other avocation. I, therefore, had some leisure to give to the Gurukula and found myself insensibly drawn into its permanent management. The location of the institution was determined in this way. I had read about the experiments of scientific men which showed the water of the Ganges to be destructive of cholera and plague germs, and I concluded that the most healthy location which could be found would be on the banks of that river. I also, of course, wished, following the ancient practice, to locate the Gurukula in the country, at a distance from the temptations and evil

influences of the cities. While I was searching for a suitable we spot were offered the gift of a large tract of land (900 acres), chiefly jungle, three miles from Hardwar. We examined it and found its location and character satisfactory, and it has proved all that we desired. The locality has been found exceedingly healthy, except that during the earlier years, when the school was closely pressed by the jungle, there was a good deal of malaria pearing with the increase of the area of cleared regarded as a serious matter."

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Miscellaneous Notes
Mahatma Gandhiji's birth day

The birthday celebrations of Mahatma Gandhi are being reported in daily papers in a dejected spirit if not with a mark of complete sorrow. The paucity of attendance was specially noticed everywhere. The President at the Delhi meeting compared the few scores there present, with a lakh and a half who lined the streets when Mahatmaji arrived at Delhi, the first time after his arrest at Palwal. These good people forget that it is not mob popularity success at which is indicative of a man's worth ; it is the hold which he has on the imagination and respect of the thinking portion of the people which matters for true history. It was Napoleon the great who, when congratulated at the ovations he received in the amphitheatre after his successes in Italian wars, said that when sentence of death would be passed against him the same or even a larger number would assemble to see him hauged.

The mob cannot appreciate the worth of Spiritual Giants like Gandhi. They will either take him on their shoulders to material victory through rivers of blood or they would consign him to eternal perdition when he refuses to pander to their brutal desires. But to men of deep convections and sane judgment Gandhi's sojourn on this earth is a source of hope and faith in the triumph of Truth and Justice. On

my return journey from Panipat to Delhi I prayed, in the railway carriage on the 58th birthday of the Great Saint, that he may be allotted full Vedic average of a hundred years or more so that the weary may find strength and the despairing may find Faith and Hope in the calm, loving atmosphere of Sabarmati Ashram.

The Akali Triumph

At last, the heroic non-violent struggle of the disciples of Akal-I urukh has triumphed and none has, perhaps, felt more gratified at it than myself who shared, with some of their foremost leaders, the castle-buildings as to the future service of the motherland for which the Jathas were preparing. The Akal panth thought that I had become indifferent to the different phases of their grand Saytagrah, but undemonstrative in times when I could give no help I have ever inwardly felt keenly for the cause in which I have once taken part. I offer my congratulations to the whole Panth for its grand achievement and my prayers to the Omnipresent, Omnipotent, Eternal Atma to award to the leaders the humble loving spirit which my lead them to the final goal.

I say, I was gratified to her of the grand success of the Akali Dal. But my heart is grieved to learn of their differences at a time when complete harmony ought to prevail amongst them. The Central Khalsa Board has risen to the height of the occassion by electing Baba Kharak Singh, the iron-willed, singleminded Champion the Truth to the Pradhan Gaddi and the sweet-tempered enthusiast, Master Tara Singh as his Assistant. But why should there be split in the camp at this time of triumph ? I exhort those with whom I had such soul consoling talks about the ultimate triumph of Humanity as evinced in Aryan Hinduism not to condemn their weak brethren in this, the moment of their success through the grace of the Akal-Purusha. Brethren ! do not, in your pride, think that human boldness, human strength or human suffering ad achieved what has been bestowed

upon the Khalsa Panth by the Divine Dispensation. Rather take every weak brother, who fell, by the hand and clasp him in your loving arms so that they might become to the Panth a source of strength rather than a cancer of weakness. My homage to the great baba Gurdatta Singh of the Guru Nanak deva ship ! I would like the Sikh leaders, who have risen to eminence, to take the Babaji as a guide and try to raise themselves by humility and service rather than depend upon their outward achievements. Khalsa heroes ! recondiled to each other among yourselves come and envelop the Whole Hindu Samaj in one fold and the time will not be far distant when Muslims, Christians, Jews and all will do combined humage to the Fatherly and Motherly Creatar and Dispenser of the world, and our Motherland will have the holy privilege of sending the message of brotherhood and love to the whole human race !

Tuberculosis : A Social Scourge

Dr. Muthu is an expert in Tuberculosis cure. He has been giving his opinions freely since he came to India. The interview he gave to a representative of the "Indian Daily Mail" is very instructive. I give a few extracts from the report of that interview : - "It was more a social problem that a medical. It was a social evil ...... It was his considered opinion that the caste system helped to perpetuate this disease, for the absence or inter-breeding and inter-marriage lowered the vitality and rendered the system easily accessible to the inroads of this fell disease. Scientifically, moreover the system was wrong . The Dr. instanced the Parsce community, a large percentage of whom was afflicted by tuberculosis. "You get two mice and breed them for four generations, and they will get cancer and die away," said Dr. Muthu illustrating his point regarding the unscientific basis of the caste system. It appears Londoners who were a Conservative people, used to marry Londoners only, but it was found on scientific investigation that in the fourth

generation they had no children ; hence it is the vogue now of Londoners to marry country girls."

Compare the dictum of Nirukta (a commentary of Vedic words) with the above. " In Sanskrit a daughter is called दुहित्री duhitri (from du = distant, Hit = good), because the marriage of a girl to a man who comes from a distant place or distant family is productive of good."

The Doctor proceeded . -

Referring again to India, the speaker observed. "Our country is handicapped by social evils of our own making and economics evils on which we have no control. He was opposed to the system which permitted boys below 34 years of age and girls below 18 to marry because it tended to lower the vitality of the race. The appealing poverty of the land was another contributive factor. There was no margin of vitality in a great majority of the people with the result that any kind of disease bowled them over.

Dr. Muthu is opposed to higher education for women, because he thinks it greatly impaired their vitality and rendered them unfit for motherhood. This fact, he said, was conclusively proved by scientific investigations in the West."

Dr. Muthu strongly deprecated the educated classes of India aping Western modes of life. For instance, Western dietary and Western clothing are absolutely unsuited to India conditions of life. "Our Indian constitution cannot stand the strain of Western conditions of life," he said.

Discussing what he termed "ill-balanced foods in India," Dr. Muthu said that the Punjabis who are move vigorous and suffer less from tuberculosis, live chiefly on Chapatis made from whole wheat flour which contains unimpaired vitamins, whereas South Indians who live chiefly on rice, whose nutritive properties are lower than those of wheat or Ragi are not so vigorous and suffer more from tuberculosis. It was found that pigeons fed on milled rice, anto-claved rice, white rice, and washed rice, which are more or less deficient in vitamins, proteins and salts, lost

weight and eventually died. We have not sufficiently realised that vitamin and other deficiencies arising from too exclusive use of decorticated rice and other faulty dietaries in India were largely responsible, especially with insanitation, for the low vital condition of the people and the spread of plague, influenza, tuberculosis and other diseases.

"How is it rich people do get the disease ?" our interviewer asked. Dr. Muthu replied, "The poor man has no food , the rich man has no stomach to digest what he eats."

Shraddhananda.

Barrister Savarkar's Work

During the Ganpati Festival week, in the Ratnagiri District, Barrister Savarkar paid a visit to Chiplun. Enthusiastic reception was accorded to him everywhere. After the delivery of a series of lectures on the Sanghatan the town cheerfully responded to his call and an all Hindu meeting was held in the quarters of the Mahars (the former Untouchables, पूर्वास्पृश्याः] Mahars sat together with other Hindus and all partook of the Pansupari and Prasad together. At the end the leaders of Mahars waved the anspicious lamp in honour of Savarkarji and showered flowers on him. In Ratnagiri itself a mixed Mela of some two hundred Hindus- including foremost leaders and all castes from the Mahars and Chambhars to Brahmins etc., sang the unity Hymn in the precincts of the city Temple of Vithoba. The refrain "Mahars or Brahmins, Kshtriyas or Chambhars - We are Hindus all, we brothers all !" was taken up and the voice of the whole assemblage joined it in consonance. A special all-Hindu ladies meeting too was held. It was attended by some seven to eight hundred woman. After being addressed by Messrs Chitrav Shastri and Savarkarji, leading Brahmin ladies with Vishya and Kshatriya girls distributed Prasad and applied the Kun Kum with their own

hands to पूर्वास्पृश्य the Mahar women who had attended the meeting.

Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha has resolved to pay an allowance of 5 Rs. per month, at least for a year, to the bereaved family of Tanu the Hindu victim who fell in the Burondi Riot.

AN APPEAL

We give place to the following appeal on be half of the Pratap Puttri Pathshala of Karachi with great pleasure.

"In 'Geeta' we read 'Nothing in the world is so mightly purifying as Jnana, right knowledge' The inner value of true knowledge in the economy of life is beautifully illustrated in a Vedic text where knowledge and action are depicted as "two wings of the Atma" The Indian Lawgivers recognized the privileged position of the woman as the safe custodian of Aryan ideal, culture and civilisation as radiant heroines of Hindu history Maharani Sita' Savitri, Gargi, Padmavati, few amongst many imbued with true knowledge of the Vedic ideals, teachings and traditions of the land of their birth, have played confidence and self-consciousness in the life of the Aryan race.

As queen of the order of household the main feeder of the orders or varunas of life, she is to be enlightened and gifted with gems of true education to rightly influence the progeny of the race. The light of true knowledge must illumine the dark superstitious mind of the mother, endow her with a new life of vigour vitality & virtue to benefit her as great mistress alike of hearthfires, alter-fires, becon-fires, of her land.

In Sind which once held such a unique position as centre of Hindu art and culture, Hinduism is threatened with extinction There is no institution which imparts education to' girl on true Vedic principles in the mother tongue of instruction. The mother of the nation grow up alien to all Hindu ideal, aspirations and historic traditions of the land. The mode and medium of instruction is foreign which

estranges pathetically the heart of the would-be-mother from her ancestral associations. As a token of humble tribute to The Indian womenhood, some well wishers of the Aryan culture started Sir Partap Putri Pathshala (named after that Great benefector Maharaj Sir Partapsingh of Jodhpur who initiated the institution in the year 1905) which has been rendering useful service in the cause of female education for the last 20 years.

Encouraged by the sympathetic appreciation of its humble efforts by the guardians and parents of enlarge its spare of useful activity in the higher standard of female education and to save the humiliation of a life of shame and misery to the helpless widow and orphan the management of the said Pathsala laid the foundation of the Sir Partap Putri Pathsala and widow home buildings at Ratan Talao Plot worth about a lakh kindly granted gratis by the Municipality in September 1925. It augurs well to provide an institution where the girls of the nation can learn at the feet of Devi of Devnagri and Sanskrit ideal of Hindu Dharma and Hindu culture and the homeless orphan and the widow can find a shelter and idea a life of useful independence by learning various arts and crafts.

The buildings are in course of construct and are estimated to cost 50,000 out of which about 11,000, has been contributed by kind benefactors. The donations are to be utilized in accordance with the expressed with of the doners and their tablets of their names affixed accordingly."

[The Liberators, 7 October, 1926]

THE SILVER JUBILEE OF THE GURUKULA

II.

Mr. Myron H. Phelps proceeded with his experience : -

There are now in the institution 274 boys, of whom 14 are in the college, and 260 in the ten classes of the school. The boys when entering are usually of the age of 7 or 8 years. They are taken with the understanding that they are to remain 16 years. On entering, the boys take a vow of poverty, chastity and obedience for 16 years, and this vow they renew at the end of the 10 year. The pupils are not allowed to visit their homes during this long period of training, except under exceptional and urgent circumstances, nor can their relations some to the school of tener than once a month. Usually they come about twice a year. The Gurukuka authorities are thus given control of all the influences tending to form the character of the boys. The discipline is strict, though at the same time parental, personal, and even tender in its mode of application. The boys are under constant supervision both during, and outside of, school hours. There are besides the teachers 13 Superintendents who are with the boys at all time when the latter are not actually in the school rooms. The boy foming classes or section of a class lives a Superintendent. The whole school is pervaded by an atmosphere of affectionate familiarity and mutual confidence, which characterizes the relations of the pupils with each other,

and the teachers, and superintendents. This feeling finds its strongest expression towards The Governor, Mr. Munshi Ram. All teachers-officials and pupils alike speak of him with special reverence and affection, and evidently feel for him the sentiments of a son for a father.

When I first came to the Gurukula Mr. Munshi Ram outlined to me the aim of the management as regards the relations which they have sought to establish among those in the community. "The feeling is cultivated," he said, "that all are members of the same family - brethren. The boys are taught to share all their pleasures with their comrades and to seek no enjoyment which cannot be so shaped. Even when their parents come here the boys will not accept individual presents from them. If an apple were offered, they would say," You must give a box, so that they may go round." This not merely an idea or a pious hope with us ; it is an accomplished fact exemplified in the actual relations of the boys with us and with each other. They are ready to make great sacrifices for each other. I one of their number is sick, they nurse him by turns at night. They will do anything - any sort of repulsive work required by nursing - for their brothers. Except in an out- of- the-way place like this, this idea could not have been carried out."

A teacher said to me, "There is this difference between the Gurukula and other institutions, that discipline is maintained here not by fear, but by love. The boys look upon their teachers especially the Governor, as parents. We regard it as part of our duty to feel and exhibit affection for the boys. If we failed to do this we should be false to our undertakings. They are wholly cut off from their relatives and friends - they are entirely dependent upon us for affection. If they should not get it from us they could not live." And this affection they do get, and with it they thrive and are contented and happy, as both the teachers and boys have told me, and as one who sees them at work and at play soon finds out for himself ; thereby disappointing

the longfaced prophecies of those who have seen the "monotony of reformatories" in the Gurukula. During the six weeks I have resided at the school I have not seen a cross or angry look of gesture or heard a cross or impatient word, from teacher, student or attendant. Neither have I seen any sign of discontent or unhappiness or homesickness On the contrary, the faces are all pleasant and cheerful, and whether at work or at play the boys appear to be Thoroughly intersted and absorbed in what they are about. I am told that their contentment and satisfaction are almost the unbroken rule.

The affection of the boys for the teachers is but the natural reflex to the devotion of the teachers to the boys. Many of the former receive substantially only their support from the institution being chiefly actuated by their love of the work. The Governor receives no pay, and has given all his property, between Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 40,000, to the school. Some of the best of the teachers have promised their services for life at a salary which is no more than a living allowance.

Close association for many years with men of high ideals and sound character,- and from what I have seen I judge that the staff of the Gurukula is made up of excellent men - is unquestionably as the experience of the best Western schools has fully demonstrated, the most certain means of developing those ideals and character in the young.

Taking up now more in detail the discipline of the schools, the rising gong is sounded at 4 a.m. for all except several of the youngest classes, which are given an hour's longer sleep. First goes a procession of white and ghost - like figures to the judge, shortly it returns, and half an hour is then given to dumb-bell exercises and other calisthenics. Many of the larger boys take a sharp run. The next half hour, from 5 to 5-30 is allowed for bathing either in the Ganges or bath house as each prefers, and completing the toilet. Next follows the morning worship. This consists of Sandhya, a prayer, silently and individually offered, and the Agnihotra, a fire oblation made by the boys in groups.

Agnihotra is esteemed to be not only an act of worship, but a sanitary measure. The fumes of burning ghee and sugar have, it is said, distinct sanitary properties which, like the germicidal nature of Ganges water, modern science has affirmed.

All the boys next assemble to listen to and take part in a conversation with the Governor on some moral or ethical subject. This occupies half or three-quarters of an hour.

A little light food, usually milk or nuts, is then distributed. Two hours of study follow. At 8-15 the morning meal is taken. The school boys assemble in two dining halls, the college boys and the Governor mess by themselves. After all are seated and the food served, they repeat in unison a Sanskrit sloka of which the meaning is as follows:

"Om (salution to the deity). May He protect us both (teacher and pupil). May He cause us both to enjoy the highest bliss. May we each add to the other's strength (body and mind). May our studies be fruitful. May we live in peace with each other."

The food is plain but substantial and well prepared, consisting of wheat chapaties, dal, a vegetable and curd. About half-an-hour's rest follows the meal, frequently spent in the large garden adjoining the school buildings .

Form 9-45 to 4-15 are the school hours of the day-that is during to colder half of the year. The summer programme is not quite the same. An intermission of half an hour occurs soon after midday, during which the pupils are given mils or other light refreshment.

Each class, after assembling and before the exercises of the hour begin, recites with the teaedxerises of the hour begin, recites with the teacher the last Sanskrit sloka above quoted. The intention is always to emphasise and keep in the minds of the pupils the sense of reverence for and unity with the teacher. From 4-15 to 4-45 the boys are left to themselves. From 4-45 to 5-30 is the play hour, when foot-ball, cricket, base-ball and Indian games is required of all students.

Between 5-30 and 6 another bath is taken usually in the river. The Ganges at the point is a swift - flowing stream, with remarkable pure and cold water. Only a portion of the river flows near the Gurukula and of that the depth is not sufficient to occasion danger to bathers.

From 6 to 6-30 Sandhya and agnihotra are again performed, as in the morning. Then follows the evening meal, which is substantially a repetition of that in the morning. A little later comes an hour's study. All retire to rest at 9-with this exception that the college boys are allowed lights until ten. This is the programme of every day except holidays. The latter occur four times in each lunar month. There are also about 20 other holidays during the year and long vacation covering the mother of August and September. During the vacation and sometimes on holidays the boys take excursions into the mountains and are taken by the professors on tours in various parts of India.

The outline (given above) of the daily programme of this institution shows an allowance for recreation which seems rather short according to Western ideas. We would consider eight or nine hours of work daily exacted from high school and college boys, for each of six days in the week, as rather too much. But the teachers say that their health is thoroughly satisfactory, and this seems to be true as they are strong and vigorous in appearance. On the football field their running is swift and their action energetic, and they show much endurance. In cricket matches with terms of other schools their staying powers hove often been remarked upon, I am told, and also their indifference to hurts which have disabled others. They wear no foot or headdress at any time, and they kick the large football powerfully with the farefoot, without showing any sign of flinching. Their good physical condition is shown by the fact that they habitually and comfortably walk barefoot during the hottest weather, a feat which cannot be imitated by most of the inhabitants of this part of the country. They wear no foot covering out of doors, nor fire for warmth

in their rooms, during the winter, although the thermometer falls as low as 40d, Farenheit, I have known a number of them to walk 24 miles in one day for amusement, which I don't think many Indian boys of other schools would care to do. All above the 4th class swim, and most of them are expert swimmers, many being able to take at a stretch the three miles down river from Hardwar. The boys also undertake freely and successfully the hardest physical labour. Extensive protective works in front of the school buildings, for guarding the grounds against encroachments of the river were built by them. When in time of flood the means of communication with Hardwar had been swept away they have built cause-ways and bridges. Frequently in cases of sickness a boy will sit up with another who is ill all night, and pursue his studies and school work during the day.

All religious instruction is general in its nature. No special creed or doctrines are taught. No effort is made in any manner to influence the religious views of the student.

The views of the Governor on this important aspect of the work of the school were thus expressed to me :

"Moral education can only be give effectively by teachers who are in constant association with the boys. When this is the case it is easy to give moral lessons. Our plan is to watch the conduct of the pupils at all times, having in mind the corrections of defects of character. If we see an error or dereliction we do not humiliate the boy by charging him with it, but I make the fault the subject of general remark the next morning. My method is this - I mention to the boys the subject on which I wish to talk to them, and ask them to quote to me an appropriate Sanskrit sloka. Out of the great store they have memorized some boys can always recall a suitable one. I take that as a text, analyse the words and explain the meaning. I show how and why the thing is wrong, and what results will results will flow from it for making a strong and permanent impression, the appeal to the authority of the sloka, which the boy will carry away with him, and always keep in memory is of

inestimable value. The outcome almost invariably is that the boy whose shortcomings I had in mind seeks me privately and discloses the fault, and usually others, who have had similar experiences or temptations, come to me also. They have perfect confidence me and tell their thoughts freely. If a boy had been at fault, he commonly asks what he shall do. I tell him to think about it and fix his own penalty. He goes away and later comes to me again to tell me what he has determined. Perhaps it will be to take out one meal a day for a week, the repetition of the Gayatri a thousand times a day, the memorization of a dozen sloka while standing or the like.

"In all this there is, of course nothing peculiar to the Arya Samaj. The other sects teach the same morals. We teach the simple moral and ethical rules of conduct. We always avoid forcing particular religious views upon a boy.

"The principles of morality are inborn. We do not find it difficult to awaken them and interest the boys i the subject. But in the ordinary schools to accomplish what we do would be virtually impossible. It is not merely because the teachers are indifferent, which unhappily is also usually the case. The confidence of the boys can only be secured by constant association and that is almost totally lacking in other schools. Our boys are in the habit of sharing their confidences with us-so that we soon find out if anything is wrong. But in the other schools the evils are not discovered, even when they are looked for. Once an inspector of schools, who had been deputed to examine and report on the best way of imparting moral instruction, came to get my advice and learn the experience of the Gurukula. He saw what I had outlined, and atonce appreciated its force, and the impossibility of the appreciated its force, and the impossibility of the application of the method to Government schools.

"As to indications of the measure of success which has attended our efforts to develop the character of the boys, I will refer to several incidents. Two or three years ago when the great Hyderabad flood occurred, the boys read

of it in the papers. I had said nothing about it. They came to me and asked it they might hold a meeting. I assented. I did not attend it. Afterwards I learned that they had voted a resolution to go without milk, ghee and dal for 15 days and sent the money saved to the destitute. This was the move noticeable inasmuch as only a year before Swami Nityanand, a sanyasi, and one of the most admired and beloved of Swamis, belonging to the Arya Samaj, had been deported from the Hyderabad State simply because he was an Arya. But the boys very properly thought that this ought not to influence them.

"Their willing and heroic self-sacrifice has been of great service to us at times. We once had 12 or 13 typhoid patients at once and but for the help of the boys in nursing we should have been at a loss how to get on at all. They nursed night and carried on their studies by day. We will soon have our trained ambulance corps, and will then be able to go to the help of others.

"Once there was a fire in a neighbouring village. The boys turned out - it was night - and worked bravely, barefooted, amid the flames, in rescuing people and property.

(To add - When Mr. Gokhale appealed for funds to help Mahatma Gandhi's great satyagrah in South Africa during 1914, the Gurukula Brahmacharies collected Rs. 1500 by denying milk, ghee &c., to themselves and by working as common coolies at the Hardwar Bund. And their example was followed by other Colleges.)

" I have been asked how we maintained discipline. We have not the slightest difficulty. If any emergency arises all we have to do is to appeal to their sense of right - to Dharma. This is always effective."

The value to Indian boys of such an opportunity for moral instruction and discipline can only be understood by those who know how completely the discipline of the Indian home had broken down in the modern days.

I cannot do better than to quote again the opinion of the distinguished governor of the Gurukula which was given to me in almost these works :

"The cause of the breaking down of our home discipline is firstly, the ignorance of our women. That began, we think, with the advent of the Mahomedans. Heretofore marital was not performed until full maturity had been reached by both the young man ant the young woman ; but to protect our women from the Mahomedans early marriage was introduced. With early marriage the education of women came to be neglected almost of necessity. They became too ignorant properly to train up their children.

As regards our men. Western education has made agnostics and atheists of most of them who have come into contact with it ; that is, agnostics and atheists at heart. Unhappily they still pretend to religion and wear the insignia of religious men, which is much worse than irreligion alone. Hypocrisy is rampant amongst us. Both the Mahomedan and Hindu leaders are without religious belief and their lives are generally insincere. This dissembling is due to luxurious Western habits. Men who live simply can with difficulty be swerved from their principles but those addicted to sense-indulgence easily sacrifice character to enjoyment.

" So, of course, the practice of religious ceremonials at our homes has fallen into desuentude. The father himself no longer performs them and does not, indeed cannot, hold his children to them. The home life has lost its system, order and discipline. Each one goes his own way, takes his own time, thinks only of his own convenience. We have a Sanskrit proverb which runs : - 'He alone can become a man of character who has for his first master the mother, for his second the father and for his ultimate master the Acharya (teacher of the Gurukula)" And a number of the most thoughtful men I have met, both in South and North India, have expressed the view that only a system of residential schools where boy could liver for a long series of years under the vigilant care and subject to the judicious discipline of wise and competent instructors, i.e., schools essentially of the Gurukula type, could under existing circumstances, rescue the youth of this country from these

evils. The Gurukula, therefore, appears to be an institution of immense importance for the future of India.

With all the attention the Gurukula gives to the Vedas and other sacred books it is the aim of the management to make it a first class institution for the study of Western literature and modern science. The full development of this part of the scheme has, however, hitherto been impossible for want of adequate funds. But the effort has been made to keep the school up to the requirements of the pupils who are still for the most part in the lower classes and in this measurable success has been attained. There is nothing antiquated or insular about the methods of instruction employed, and the range of study and reading is wide and liberal."

After giving a detailed description of the course of studies and the equipments of the course of studies and the equipment of the institution and the equipments of the institution and after giving the palm to these Gurukula Brahmacharies over their compeers reading in Government institutions Mr. Phelps adds : -

"This advantage is no doubt party due to the much more favourable conditions for study which he enjoys, viz., quiet and natural surroundings, pure air, sufficient exercise (which is here compulsory) and the greatest regularity of life. Contrast this with the cram ped and congested city surroundings of most Indian College boys, their hatitual neglect of exercise and their utter irregularity of life frequently working as they do far into the night or all night before examination - for Indian students really work with great intensity at times - habits which frequently so impair their health as to leave them quite unfit for the serious work of life.

The advantage of Gurukula student is due in a still greater degree to the fact that instruction is imparted to him in his own language and is therefore readily understood and assimilated. The use of the Hindi as the medium of instruction is one of the features of the school which is regarded as exceedingly important."

Then he goes on explaining the advantage of giving instruction in the mother language and after giving due praise to the system of examination by which if a student fails in one or two subjects he is allowed to appear again in those very subjects without hindering his promotion, Mr. Phelps quotes, approvingly Sir Oliver Lodge's advice as to internal system of examination in vogue in the Gurukula. And then he summarises the whole argument thus : -

"From what has been said in previous letters it will be readily seen why it is impossible for the Gurukula to invite Government co-operation, that is, to submit to Government supervision as an aided school. This would mean, in the first place, that Sanskrit must be displaced in favour of English, as the first language of the school. Thereby the primary object of the instruction which is to secure for the students a thorough grounding in Sanskrit and Vedic learning, would be given a secondary place. The general character of the institution respect to the instruction which it imparts would be reversed. In the next place, the use of Hindi as a medium of instruction is a feature of the school regarded as essential to sound education, but which Government rules for aided schools would not permit . Thirdly, the school to a large extent uses its own text-books, which are found essential to its work and which the regular system would exclude in favour of text-books. Finally, were the school recognised, the course of study in the work of the institution would necessarily be subject to the usual University examination, which, for the reasons stated above, are considered destructive of good educational results.

It ought, therefore, to cause no surprise, and should be no ground for suspicion that the school does not seek recognition or aid from the Government. Its aims and methods are so radically different from those which govern the regular educational system that it cannot do otherwise than stand alone."

Let me house here a little and draw the attention of

Indian Nationalists to the above remarks of Mr. Phelps. The reason why almost all the National Colleges and Schools, started since the advent of non-violent non-co-operation, have closed down within less than 4 years of their existence while the Gurukula has been progressing from year to year, seems to be that while the foundation of the Gurukula was laid to fulfil a real want of the times, the socalled national institutions were started simply to shew the people's discontent with the British bureaucracy. And still the potentiality of the only National institution for further progress is not spent up. Mr. Phelps concludes : -

"I cannot conceive of any institution which could make a stronger appeal to Hindu sentiment, regardless of all sectarian feeling. In its freedom from all charges it supports as do few, if any, other schools in India, the splendid ancient ideal of the duty of the community to its children . It brings back and makes living the best period of Indian life. It reverences and realizes the loftiest ideals of Hindu thought. It promises, indeed, gives a trustworthy assurance of restoring to the people of India, their ancient virtues. No one can live for a time in the atmosphere of this school without feeling full confidence that the men who receive its training will be of genuine worth and integrity, whose work in the world is certain to advance the welfare of their countrymen and of mankind. My observations long ago convinced me that in training of the sort which this school is preeminently qualified to give lies for the present the only hope so far as human prescience can determine, for the development in India of that manly and elevated character which alone can achieve a future for the country commensurate with its glorious past. The Gurukula needs an endowment of a Crore of rupees."

Since the above was penned, full sixteen years have passed away. During this long period the Gurukula has struggled to attain its ideal of turning out graduates of dependent spirit and sound morals who would not depend on the slavery of service for keeping their body and soul

together, who would be strong in body and soul and who would be ready to serve their motherland at all sacrifices. In spite of obstacles, external and internal, place in its way it is nearing the promised land. The University consists of an Arts College, teaching Vedic literal true Modern Sanskrit literature and English language and literature with one elective subject, out of which History, Economics, Chemistry and Western Philosophy have alone got chairs. We want means to create chairs for Physics, Mathematics and Botany which had to be postponed for want of Funds. There is a Vedic College, the principal speciality of the Institution, which has got distinguished Professors, nurtured in the lap and cultured in the beneficent atmosphere of the Gurukula Mata. And lastly there is an Ayur-Veda College in which, with the indigenous system of medicine, the Western system is also practically taught.

There are six branches, giving instruction to some 800 boys which feed the parent institution and dozens are in course of formation in whose path want of funds is the only hindrance. I hope to give further history of the advance of the Gurukla in some of the coming issues of the 'Liberator'. But today I stop here, and ask the Hindu public, (without distinction of creed or caste) whom I have tried to serve with the best that is in me, to come to my help in laying my tribute at the altar of my Alma Mater on the occasion of her Silver Jubilee. I call the Gurukula my Alma Mater, my fostering mother, because, while I tried to educate my spiritual sons there, I myself got all the strength of body, mind and spirit (insignificant, as I know, it is) under the fostering care of the Mother at the bank of Sacred Bhagirathi and at the feet of the soul-inspiring Himalayas.

The Governor of the Gurukula has appealed for Rupees Ten lakhs only out of the one Crore for which Mr. Phelps pressed and I Join my voice with his in the hope that every Hindu home will come forward with at least a fortnight's income so that the full sum might be assured during the next months.

My Special Appeal,

Over and above that there is my special appeal for a lakh and a quarter at this time. I had been trying to open an Industrial College, giving training an Industrial College, giving training in cottage Industry since the very beginning of the existence of the Gurukula. Two large-hearted philanthropists promised to contribute large sums at different times but, unfortunately, both died within a week after having made the promises. I actually started a Kala Bhavan, on a small scale but after I left the Gurukula it had to be put an end to, by my sucessors, for want of funds. After having severed all connection with the Gurukula in 1922 I still remained working on the late Seth Ragghu mull for a donation of five lakhs in order to start an Industrial College on a decent scale. Sethji called for schemes and estimates which I furnished, but he was suddenly snatched away by the hands of cruel death. I hope when the Trnstees of his magnificent charitable Trust come into possession of the trust property they will not forget the claim of the Gurukula in this respect.

But we cannot wait for that day when recurring expenses are assured by a permanent fund. A beginning must be made during the celebration of the Silver Jubilee. Rupees fifty thousand are wanted for buildings, another 50,000 for equipments and 25,000 in order to carry on the work till a capital fund is secured. Small donations won't do. I want 125 philanthropic gentlemen each of whom should send Rs. 1000 to me either from his pocket or from personal collections. Large hearted Dan-virs might, each in his own individuality, represent 2, 5 or 10 persons and send 2, 5 or 10 thousand Rupees in a lump sum.

This is my last appeal for my beloved institution. If it meets a proper response I will, then, settle sown to devote the remaining days of my life to introspection and to giving my experiences of life to those who want to equip themselves for the battle of life through the observance of Brahmacharya.

All contribution of the 'Gurukula Industrial College fund' should be sent to my address at Delhi so that I might ask the permission of the Governing Body of the Gurukula to have plans prepared and work of building begun atonce.

Old age is telling on the staying power of my vitality and the work of winding up miscellaneous activities at Delhi will remain heavy for the next three months. I request, therefore, those who believe that resuscitation and conservation of the ancient Aryan culture depend upon the revival of the Brahmacharya Ashram to save me from the worry and trouble of going out and to fill my begging bowl at Delhi.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

UNCHIVALRY NOT OURS

We understand the gentleman, who held charge as Deputy Commissioner of Delhi during what may be called the "Riot term," is going on leave. Some cases tried by him are placed for judgment even on the Dussera holiday. Apparently the unchivalry will not be ours, if we have, in his absence, to make any comments son his judgments and conduct of affairs during the last six months.

Work in Andhra

The Sevasram, Gudivada was the scene of great enthusiasm on Sunday the 3rd October when some ten persons including children, females and males, residents of two neighbouring villages viz. Nagavarappadu and Tameresa come for Shuddhi. It would appear these people were converted to the Salvation Army, some eight years ago with the hopes of getting land, cash etc. But unfortunately the missionaries could not fulfil their promises - perhaps they were never meant of that and there was widespread dissatisfaction. Now they realized how they had been befooled to give up the invaluable dharma for 'trash,' while the trash even did not come to their hand, and came to the shelter of Andhra Aryan Mission for being taken back

into their original fold. As usual the Yajna-Prayashitta ceremony was performed and with the frequent and joyous repetition of "Sri Raman Govinda Hari" they were readmitted into their caste. The function terminated with the distribution of nuts and fruits

Keshav Dev Gnani.
Guntur 5-10-26.

[The Liberators, 14 October, 1926]

THE HINDU MISSION

I am glad to note the formation of "The Hindu Mission," with headquarter at 67, College Street, Calcutta. The activities of this Mission are mainly to be seen in Assam and the Bengal Districts near the border of Assam. The mission has taken up a difficult sort of work and will, if given adequate support by the Hindus, satisfy a crying need. Hitherto the work of reforming and refining the Hilltribes was done mainly if not exclusively - by Christian or other Proselytising organisations. This Mission is going to work among those hilltribes and its programme is one of social amelioration and uplift. It is going to work for the removal of untouchability, the one curse of Hinduism, the tuberculosis of Indian Nation. It will take back into the parentfold all those who have wandered away from it and are willing or even anxious to return but have been kept away by the superstitious orthodoxy of Hindus. The Mission will attempt generally to remodel and reinvigorate the Vedic religion - and to propagate the same. It will also attempt to build new temples, to renovate or repair ancient ones, to open schools, libraries, dispensaries, rescuehomes, orphanages etc., to publish suitable literature on all these and allied matters.

Ambitious as the programme appears, it is necessary and quite possible of achievement. Swami Satyananda is the organiser of the Mission and has worked a great deal in a brief period. His resources are, however, very limited because he secures his means only by begging, in which

he is aided by a large number of Brahmacharies and Volunteers. Within six months January to July 1926, he was able to reclaim 51Christians and 107 Animists to Hinsuism besides running some school and providing places of shelter to the reclaimed. He has already opened centres in Gopalganj, Mymensingh, Susong, Gauhati, Shillong ; Dibrugarh, Jorhat, and Tezpur. At shillong he had made arrangements for teaching Bengali among the Khasis and had engaged a Bengali teacher in the Senghkhasi School . There is any amount of work to be done in this field. If instead of dabbling with politics, the Hindu Mahasabha organises this field, the Mahasabha will justify its grand title. It is hope Benglis will keep the Hindu Mission active.

THURSDAY, 28th October, 1926.

THE NUCLEUS OF TRUE SANGATHAN

I contributed my humble mite and took due share in bringing the present Hindu Maha-Sabha constitution into being and worked to the best of my ability for giving a practical shape to its aims and objects. But after working with it, in fair weather and foul, for full three years, I found that while soaring in the skies in laying down principles and formulae, its sphere of practice was, after all, circumscribed for reasons into which I need not enter because they have, several times, been made public. The Sabha has, so far, failed in bringing together even Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and Parsis ; what to say of promoting "good feelings between the Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with them, with a view to evolve a Untied and self-governing Indian Nation."

In the first Mahasabha Conference, held at Benares in August 1923, an attempt was made to take in the representatives of Buddhists and Parsis. The Angarik Dharmapal Brahmachary and Mr. G.K. Nariman actually joined. Brahmachary Dharmpal was presented with an address in reply to which, after thanking the promoters, he said that when the followers of Lord Buddha had

to leave India, they knew not the word Hindu and it was the original home of the Aryas which they always remembered. After that no Buddhist representative came nor were the Parsis properly invited. Then those who wanted to do practical work of reforming the Hinds were told plainly that the function of the Sabha was to lay down formulae of reforms; their practical working must depend on outside agencies. And when, at the end, the Hindu Mahasabha overstepped its boundary-mark and began to dabble in party politics, I severed my connection with it.

Now, it must have been plain to anybody who had anything to do with Dalitoddhar, Shuddhi, widow remarriage, raising of the age of marriage and finally with Brahmachary Ashram that all practical work in these fields was being done done by Aryasamajist. And if Buddhists, Parsis and even Jews, Christians and Muhammadans are to be brought within one fold for the ultimate regeneration of the motherland, it is the Aryasamaj towards which the eyes of all farseeing thinkers and true patriots are turned. Hence I have come to the conclusion that the nucleus of true Sangathan than is the Aryasamaj which was organized by a Seer, long before the Indian National Congress came into existence.

But what is the Aryasamaj? Is it a sect dominated by the personality of its found or of a mythical person around whose life traditions have accumulated ? The founder of the Aryasamaj denounced all Gurudom : he could not set himself up as a Guru. He inculcated the following of the precepts of Divine Knowledge(वेद) and insists on the rejection of all human Ukases's Vyavasthas of Fatwas, which do not conform to it. From the Veda he has deduced precepts for the conduct of life of human beings and has given every person the freedom to test them by his reason and intuition.

My future efforts will be concentrated on giving publicity to the message of the Veda which, Richi Dayananda considered, could alone bring enlightened portion of the world on one platform and could act as the Saviour of

humanity by leading it to the right path. But before I begin that noble work, which I must warn my readers from indentifying the Vedic precepts with the practice of the present members of the Aryasamaj in India. To my mind, the Aryasamaj has been drifting towards Sectarianism since a number of years and if its downward course is not checked in time it will become unfit for the sacred work for which its founder gave it eternal, lifegiving principles and its strong democratic constitution . The first business of a Vedic Dharmist who intends to sent the message of the Vedas beyond North West India - to Bengal, to Assam, to Orrisa, to the four Southern Provinces, and to Maharashtra - should be to look nearer home and to try to reform the would-be reformers themselves first. If there is no concordance between professions and practice मन्तव्य & कर्त्तव्य there can be no hope of real delivery of the Divine message. The blind cannot lead the blind
-अन्धेनैवनीयमाना यथान्धाः -

But in order to bring the Aryasamajist of Northern India to a sense of their responsibility it will be necessary not only to address them in the mother tongue of the people but to take counsel with the leaders of the Aryasamaj at to the means of putting fresh life and vigour in the commonest members. That task will also be undertaken. But the one movement which lies at the root of all real reform and progress is the institution of Brahmacharya to which I again wish to devote special attention.

Form the next week I hope to being carrying out the task that I have set to myself.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Editorial Observations

Wanted Information

Elsewhere we publish a report submitted by Md. Arif First Class magistrate of Delhi to the District magistrate

in a case of apprehended breach of the peace. The gentleman, who was D.M. when the report was submitted, has left this District and his successor may not find it convenient to attend to this query of ours. Therefore we ask the Hon'ble Mr. Stow, Chief Commissioner of Delhi to let us know if Mr. Arif took evidence in support of the allegations he has incorporated in his report in para two. We await the reply of the Chief Commissioner and hold over our views in relation to the whole affair. In the means while the Hon'ble Mr. Stow may consider if a copy of Mr. Arif's report may be sent to the Registrar of the Delhi University with a request that it may be published in a book dealing with that it may be published in a book dealing with English Composition under an appropriate Chapter.

Anticlimax

The cases against the editor of Tej and Suddhi Samachar were withdrawn under the orders ostensibly issued by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi on the day fixed for delivering judgment. The case against Tej was going on for probably five months both cases went through all the stages, the editor of Shuddhi Samachar having to be explicitly acquitted. With these facts before one's eye, we shall marvel at the imbecility of the person who will give the credit of the belated widow to the Hon'ble Mr. Stow. Apparently Mr. J.N.G.Johnson was not anxious to have on his hands problems created by the gentleman who was to keep his seat warm during his absence and managed to keep it quite hot. We have the cold season coming and a hot seat should be welcome. Having just come from England, however, Mr. Johnson is not in need of as much heat as his predecessor is concerned, thought desirable. So far as his predecessor is concerned his exploits cannot be better expressed than in his own words, which were amongst the last of his official words before leaving this Imperial Capital and which are, therefore, quoted below. After the cases were withdrawn (the editor of Shuddhi Samachar had to be acquitted, as

charges were framed against him), he delivered himself :

"Through you the responsible editors of newspapers, I appeal of the residents of Delhi, to once more establish here the same friendly Hindu-Muslim relations that existed some years back, when I first came to Delhi. To conditions in the city have of late become deplorable." (Italics ours.)

Another Anticlimax

A Madrasee trumpet- major ignorant of Hindi or Urdu had been specially commissioned to conduct propaganda on behalf of the Congress in Punjab and U.P. The Indian National Congress insists on making Hindi the National language of India. Even the vernachular of these Northern Provinces is Hindi or Urdu. What greater anticlimax can you have than that a Madrasee trumpeteer should declaim in English in these provinces on behalf of the Indian National Congress ? He has finished his tour and is going back. He has surely rendered great service to the Associated Press of India and we shall be glad to know how Mr. Roy is going to remunerate him.

Shanti Devi Case

The case arising out of the conversion of Asagari Begum to the Vedic Faith was taken up on 20th and 21st instant. An end was almost within sight when the complainant flung a surprise in the form of an application for an adjournment to enable him to move for a transfer of the case. According to the Lahore High Court Circular a fortnight's adjournment has been granted. Among the ground on which the transfer is sought are (1) that the complaint's pleaders have gone over to the accused and (2) that the Court gave chairs to some of the accused on subsequent dates of hearing after having refused to give them on the first date.

Swami Shraddhanand

Swami Shraddhanand is out on a short tour in Punjab. He left Delhi on 25-10-26 and will return on 2-11-26. He

intends to be present at Dinga on 29th, 30th and 31st instant for the annual celebration of the Dinga Aryasamaj.

Poona Depressed Classes Conference

Mr. V.R. Shinde said in his Presidential address to the Depressed Classes Agricultural Conference at Poona that untouchability was a social and political problem of the worst type. Every kind of landholding was denied to untouchables who were serfs in South India and especially in Malabar. He agreed with the Educational Commissioner who had told the Royal Commission on Agriculture that compulsory education was a more urgent and vital need of untouchables than agricultural research. He asked that a Special Deputation of the Depressed Classes should go to apprise the Commission of the needs of the Depressed Millions of India being more political than economic and of the fact that if education was ever to have any practical effect in India, it must be more rural than civic. Mr. Shinde expressed gratification that the uplift movement was gradually devolving upon worthy members of the Depressed or untouchable classes and gravely warned them against hankering after blessings or chance favours from powers that be, as these favours eventually became a curse to those who received them. Giving unearned favours reached unfavourably on the givers themselves and exposed them to just ridicule. Mr. Shinde concluded that on Government should be looked upon as a great Charitable body.

Depressed Classes Conference at Neemuch

The enthusiastic youngmen of the Raidas (Charmar) community of Neemuch Cantonment organised the second sessions of the depressed classes (untouchables) conference which was held on the 10th, 11th and 12th October at Neemuch. Mr. Baijnath Mahodaya B.A, Editor the Hindi Cheap Literature Society of Ajmer presided over the conference.

The report of the Raidas Sabha showed that the Sabha

had succeeded in establishing a library, a temple and a sewa samiti, in encouraging about fifty boys to attend school, in weaning nearly three hundred chamars from drink and in spreading cleanliness of home, body and tongue among the Raidasis.

On the second day women's meeting was held in the Satyanarayan temple where Brahmachari Harji preached the cult of the Charkha. At five in the evening the conference assembled with a large a audience including over a thousand men and women belonging to the Depressed Classes. prominent among those present were besides the president's party, Seth Nathmal Chordia, Mr. Jagdish Prasad B. Sc., the Gwalior Officials including the Magistrate and the Tehshildar and several Mohammadan and Christian gentlemen. The high caste people of Neemuch boycotted the first day's sitting owing to their differences with the Raidas Sabha which had succeeded in obtaining official permission to carry their idol procession through the main bazar in the teeth of opposition by the high caste people.

The acting President, in the absence of the elected President Mr. Chaudhary, read his address in which the fallacy of opposition by caste people to the uplift of the depressed classes and the hypocrisy of their justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them on religious grounds were exposed. "How could" asked Mr. Chaudhary "the Hindu Religion, which had recognised the equality of all creation including worms and insects, sanction this atrocity to untouchable humanity ?" Insanitation, drink and animal food and even immorality were no reasons to justify untouchability as these vices were rampant even among the highest castes, while it was monstrous to deny any people the right of free worship of God according to their conception. From the national point of view the opposition to the uplift of the depressed classes was simply suicidal as no nation that trampled upon the rights of one fifth of its members could hope to achieve freedom. It was therefore the duty of the Hindu society to contribute liberally towards

the emancipation of the submerged classes. The address of Mr. Chaudhary concluded with an appeal to the Chamars to purify themselves by renouncing liquor, animal food, polygamy and insanitary habits and by education their children.

Seth Nath Chordia then made a very eloquent speech. He described the moral and material degradation of the 'untouchables' born of the evils of alcoholism and with his apron spread out, he asked them to give him the alms of abstention from drink. Seth Chordia was followed by Pandit Haribhan Upadhaya who read and elaborately explained an article of Mahatma Gandhi on untouchability. The audience were very much impressed by Pandit Upadhaya's discourse. The special feature of the second and third settings was the laudable presence of many highcaste gentlemen who attended the conferen e in defiance of the ban placed by their punchayet agair st their attendance in the conference.

The last sitting of the conference was equally well attended. Resolutions against early marriages and polygamy drink and animal food and for spreading education and Khadi were adopted. Winding up the business of the conference, Mr. Baij nath addressed the Raidases in these words : - "Mere Resolutions won't do. You will have to given an account of your next year. Resolve that it shall be far more solid and splendid than this year's. The number of your boys and girls going to school should increase by leaps and bounds. Cherish no ill-will in your hearts against those high-caste people who do no sympathise with the cause of your elevation. Let methods of progress be clean. Your path is righteous, stick to it. Devotion to the right in a spirit of humility will purify the souls of you and your adversaries both and then you will meet as brothers like Rama and Bharat".

A happy consequence of the conference was the creation of an atmosphere of peace and goodwill between the chamars and the high-caste people of Neemuch though the efforts of Pandit Haribhan who considerably succeeded in appeasing

the feeling of alarm and panic prevailing in the upper classes of Hindus on account of the awakening of the depressed classes. The success of the conference was beyond the expectations and much of the credit for this success must go to Seth Nath Mal Chordia who worked for the uplift of the 'untouchables' in a religious spirit and braved all threats of excommunication with perfect equanimity. Messrs. Jagdish Prasad Sharma, Sukhdin Fitter and Dhaniram also deserve praise for their pains in making the conference the success it was. Messrs. Upadhaya and Chaudhary are coming down to Neemuch probably in the first week of November to remove the differences between the untouchables and the high-caste people.

Gujrat Antyaj Seva Mandal

A conference of all the branches of the Gujrat Antyaj Seva Mandal, of which Mr. A.V. Thakkar has been President for nearly four years, was held at navsari on 17-10-26 Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel presiding. The mandal was founded on 16-1-23. Beginning with one school for Bhangis at Godhra, the Mandal has now got 13 Schools and 4 Ashrams, having given instruction to more than eleven hundred pupils in the aggregate. The present number of pupils in these 13Schools is 361. The total expenditure incurred by the Mandal from 16-1-23 to 6th October 1926, is Rs. 67510-11-2. The Mandal has got ten Sworn members besides paid teachers who are nine in number and of who one is a lady. One of the speakers was Dr. Parsotamdas who is himself a member of the Depressed Classes, and the Suba of Navsari was another.

Temple Entry

Replying to the address of the Adi-Dravidas Chidambaram. Viscount Goschen explained away the hostile attitude adopted by the Government mi the Madras Legislative Council towards Mr. Veerian's motion to give the right of templeentry to them. His Excellency gave two

reasons, (1) that the questions of Hindu Social and religions custom cannot suitable be dealt with by legislation ; changes of custom can only grow healthy from the inside, and cannot be imposed by law from witout ; (2) that even if change by legislation were possible or desirable I cannot agree that the Hindu Religions Endowments Bill would have been a proper vehicle for effecting such a change."

At Amraoti

Some prominent members belonging to the Depressed Classes of Amraoti asked permission to enter Hindu temples for Darshan. The temple authorities have given a shuftling and delaying reply.

Shuddhi in Bombay

One Prof. Pinto was reconverted to Hinduism at Santa Cruz (Bombay) and has been named Shreshtee. Chitrav Sastri delivered a very impressive speech after the Shuddhi ceremony.

Absorption in his brotherhood

Anandrao Nakhwa, a prominent member of the fishermen community of the Bombany and Salsette islands, was reconverted to Hinduism from Christianity by the late Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, founder of the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay. Mr. Nakhwa rendered great assistance in the mission of reclaiming several christian fishermen to Hinduism. But the caste of Hindu fishermen would not absorb these reclaimed converts. An enthusiastic public meeting of fishermen was recently held in Bombay under the Presidentship of Shree Shankaracharya Mahabhagwat Dr. Kurtakotti and as the result of his preaching, the Hindu fishermen have unanimously resolved to absorb those convers who would perform proper prayschitta.

RECEIVED WITH THANKS.

(1) THE OTHER PHASE OF THE MEDAL : A critical Rejoinder to the Swarajists' Propaganda by D. MADHAV

RAO.

Published by the Justice Printing Press, Mount Road, Madras. - Price As. - / 12/-

(2) THE R-EPORET OF THE THIRD SESSION of the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress held at Delhi on 19th and 20th February 1926, published by the Honorary Secretary, Canada Building, 3 Home Street, Fort Bombay.

A Schools for untoucbables

At Kurla, near Bombay, a School for Depressed class children was opened under the auspices of the Social Service League Bombay and the Antyaj Seva Samiti Kurla on the Dussera (16th October) by Rao Bahadur A.K., Pai, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. There is a population of about seven hundred Gujrati and Kathiawadi members of the Depressed classes.

A Temple for all Hidus

A public meeting was held at Matunga (Bombay) under the auspices of the Matunga Hindu Sabha, Mr. Jayakar presiding. It was resolved that a fund should be opened for the purpose of building a temple wherein all Hindus can worship God irrespective of caste or untouchability . One of the speakers pointed out that during the Ganpati worship week, no Hindu houseowner would give his Compound or premises for the sake of installing a Ganpati whom Members of the Depressed classes could worship and it was a non-Hindu houseowner who came forward to let his compound for the purpose.

Violence to Untouchables

At Khardi between Kalya and Kasara (G.I.P. Ry.) The members of the Depressed classes worshipped Ganpati and were taking the image in procession. The socalled highcaste Hindus -both non- Brahmins and Brahmins - obstructed the procession and committed violence to members of the socalled untoucbable classes.

A Depressed Class Student Honoured

At the celebration of Bishop Heber centenary in the Bishop Heber College (Madras Presidency) under the presidentship of His Excellency Viscount Goschen, Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle awarded to a student belonging to the Depressed classes a gold medal in the name of Viscountess Goschen.

Nandanar School

His Excellency Viscount Goschen paid a visit to the Nandanar School Chidambaram, and was presented with an address by the South Arcot Adi Dravida Mahajan Sabha. The School named after the great saint Nanda was founded in 1916 by Swami Satyananda with a small band of selfless workers. The address was read by Mr. M.C. Rajah. In reply to the address, Lord Goschen made a very important reply which will be given in extenso in a subsequent issure.

A Representative of the Depressed

Mr. Ganapathy Pillai, Secretary Adi Dravida Association, Vellore, writes that Mr. R.Veerian who has rendered such valuable survices to the Adi Dravidas, must be again nominated to the Madras Legislative Council. His services have been particularly effective in connection with Darkast lands and the right to enter all public roads and markets in Local Board Areas.

Representation of the Depressed

In the Madras Legislative Council, there are several seats reserved for the representatives of the socalled untouchable classes, which are filled by nomination. It has, this year, been decided to give the representative organisations of those classes some voince in the selection of suitable persons. The Adi Dravida Sabhas have been asked to communicate their recommendations to the Commissioner of Labour through the Adi Dravida Sabha of Madras. There recommendations will be given due consideration.

The Ram Krishna Mission

The Ram Krishna Mission has begun to pay some attention to Assam. At Shillong a regular evening Service is held every week when Sacred books are read and Sankirtan is held. At Shella one or two publicspirited youngmen have opened a centre which is doing some work. They have started a school and have taken other humanitarian duties in hand. They are, it is pleasing to note, being helped by the local Seim or the Chief. Shella is noted for oranges and is only four miles from Cherreapoonji.

Swami Darshanand (not an Aryasamajist) tourned round Kamrup District. In Darang District he reconverted to Hinduism 21 persons, among whom one is the Postmaster of Hathigarh.

COMMENDABLE

A correspondent writes : -

Some members of Chandra Kant Roy's lodge, Fakirbari Road Barisal, were having their evening Sankirtan, when tow musalman students of the neighbouring mosque came out and rudely asked them to stop music. Maulvi Abdul Kuddus guardian of the two boys, come out and rudely asked them to stop music. Maulvi Abdul Kuddus guardian of the two boys, came to know about the incident and at once sent for them and told them to apologise to the Sankirtan party whom they insulted. The lads apologised. The Maulvi Saheb warned the inmates of the boarding house that if any report of similar conduct was made against any of them, the punishment of expulsion from the boarding house would be awarded. The Maulvi Saheb deserves all praise for this bold and noble action .

DINBANDHU

A Hindi weekly "Dinbandhu" will be published at Khurja from 15th November next under the editorship of Swami Ramanand Sanyasi and will be devoted to the uplift of Depressed classes, general social reform, local self-

Government etc. Yearly subscription will be Rs. 3 only.

ACHHUT UDHAR CONFERENCE

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has agreed to preside over an Achhut Udhar Conference.

BHOR STATE MAHARS

The Second Session of the Conference of the Mahars of the Bhor State (Maharashtra) was held on 10th October 1926 under the Presidentship of Balukaka Kanitkar. Mr. Gaekwad and Mr. Chavan of the Mahar Community worked strenuously to make the Conference a spendid success.

UNTOUCHABILITY AT KUSHTEA

At Kushtea (Bengal) a huge meeting was held in the Gopinath temple. Hindus of all classes including Brahmins and Kayashthas were present. There was a Hari Sankirtan, after which Brahmins and other high caste Hindus with shouts of joy drank water from the hands of the members of the socalled untouchable classes. Sj. Harishchandra of the Vaishyashaha community blasing with joy went to a sweetmeat shop, brought large quantities of Rashogllas and distributed them to all present. Among the Brahmins present was Rashbehari Mukerjee Munsif. The meeting has caused a tremendous awakening May this awakening be permanent!

[The Liberators, 28 October, 1926]

At The Gurukula
The School Of The Arya Samaj.

"Everyone who has read of India sedition has heard of the Gurukula, where the children of the Arya Samaj are educated. It is the most characteristic expression of the spirit and doctrine of the Arya, and round it have gathered all the suspicions attached to this aggressive religious body. It has therefore been frowned upon by Government, reported upon by police officers, and condemned by most Anglo-Indians. I found that by travelling during the night it was just possible for me to visit the school within the space of a week-end, and I sought sleep in a train that proceeds from Delhi to Hardwar at the rate which appears to be a mile an hour with frequent long stops between stations.

In the early morning I reached Hardwar, where the Ganges finds its gateway from the mountains to the plain. The station was crowded with pilgrims, some evidently having come from very far on that universal and eternal quest for what is to cleanse the soul from sin. jungle - clad hills looked down upon us, and we started on foot in air which bit with the snap of an English autumn morning. When the river bank was reached the view upwards opened out and the nearer hills were seen to be blending humbly at the feet of great snow-clad Himalayan pinnacles which rose over all like the spires of a gigantic cathedral. Every river ripple, every hill thicket, every snow field was lit by bright sushine.

A tamer - a slender raft of bamboo rods lashed over airtight kerosine tins - lay on the shingle. Upon it we were launched into the current, and in the twinkling of an eye we were in mid stream. Over deep pools we floated leisurely, then the river-red below suddenly began to race under us, the tamer heaved and pumped, the water splashed up, and the slender rat rushed down rapids to find peace in another pool and be again caught in the grips of other eddies and recess. Twisting and whirling and splashing, the river hurried its burden along, monkeys chattered as we passed ; strange things of the jungle peeped out and returned to the shelter of the long grass. On a sandy bay we landed, and a path, so dusty and so hot led us into the jungle. The yellow grass rose far above our heads ; the cool mountain winds refused to follow us; the sun smote us. At last we came to a long, straight road party shaded by trees. Far ahead we could see a flag at the end of a tall mast - the Gurukula was in sight.

MUNSHI RAM

In 1901-02, when Munshi Ram, Pleader at Jullundur, weary of the world, repelled by the ways and the fortunes of the law, converted from his unbelief and devoted to the religious propaganda of Swami Dayanand, sought peace and work, he came to the jungle near Hardwar to found a school. The Arya Samaj had decided to put Dayanand's views on education into operation. Munshi Ram, having listened to lessons in English being given to his sons, had concluded that the system was all wrong and had drafted a report on the subject, and the Samaj invited him to be the head of the new institution. He had no experience, but he had ideas.

Were was the school to be placed ? "Away from men," said the devotees. For it was to be no Government college to turn good Indians into poor Englishmen who would uproot their own sacred culture from their hearts and put nothing but weeds in its place. The boy who was to go

to the Gurukula was to be taught his own Indian culture, he was to have wisdom brought to him through the medium of the vernacular ; Sanskrit was to be the classical language which was to colour his thought ; the religion of the pure Vedas was to be his atmosphere ; the learning and the tongue of the West were to be on his curriculum, but they were to be a subordinate influence. And when school days were over the boys were to go out into India , learned in the in the holy books, with religion in their hearts, apostles of Swami Dayanand's teaching. Their living was to be got not from government service and not from twisting the law, but from callings, like medicine, agriculture and teaching, directly associated with the every day lives of the people. Hence the school had to be off the highroads and away from cities ; it had not to be off the highroads and away from cities ; it had not to be within reach of the sound of the world's strife nor under the shadow of the world's smoke. It was to be partly a public school and partly a monastery. So Munshi Ram sought the jungle. A zemindar, stricken in health and child-less, whose wife was devout, made a present of a village. Tigers lay in its lands and in the rains wild elephants came plashing sown from the hills. But the Ganges embraced the domain, the gift was accepted, and there Munshi Ram lit his fires.

THE GURUKULA

The Gurukula is approached through kitchen and flower gardens, by paths, fragrant with rose and jessamine. Its playing fields lie round it and its dormitories are built in squares at its centre. Over its entrance gate flies the flag bearing the sacred OM, the Eternal of the Vedas. Three hundred boys are now there. They must be between 6 and 10 years of age when they enter, and they stay till they are 25. They are handed over to the legal guardianship of Munshi Ram, now known by the title of Mahatmaji. He is their father and they are his sons. At four o'clock they rise from their hard deal beds, do physical exercises and

bathe in cold water. Worship follows. In the hottest weather they go bareheaded and barefooted. "They may have a hard life," smiled Mahatmaji, and we must discipline them to it." A yellow robe is the school badge. Whilst they are at school they see little of their parents, but an annual gathering attended by thousands of people is held in the college grounds and parents go to that. Special huts are put up and the crowd is like an old English fair. During their holiday the boys are taken by their teacher to famous places in India, and in these wanderings they have gone as far as Cashmere.

To the official mind and experience all this is confusing. There are on Englishmen on the staff; English is not the medium of instruction ; the text books on English literature prescribed by the Punjab University, as the basis of Indian higher education are not used here ; no students are sent up for University examinations ; the college confers its own degrees. Verily, this is defiance. The first gasp of the surprised official was bound to be "Sedition". But that cannot be the final judgment on the Gurukula. It is the most momentous thing in India education that has been done since Macaulay sat down to put his opinions into minute in 1835. Everyone here is unhappy regarding the results of that minute but on one, so far as I have yet seen, save the founders of the Gurukula, has translated his unhappiness into a new experiment.

AN IMPRESSIVE WELCOME

A tall magnificent figure bearing itself with commanding grace comes to meet us. A painter of the modern school would welcome it as a model for the Christ, one of mediaeval tastes would see in it a from to the Apostle Peter - though a trifle tall and commanding for the fisherman. Mahatmaji bids us welcome and we pass into his simply furnished room dominated by the tinsel symbol Om. In my own room they have covered a table able with a pure white cloth and have placed upon it two brass vases full of red flowers

joined by a heap of bright coloured petals. No guest has ever had a sweeter chamber. A servant pours water on our hands, and gives us a towel, and leaving our shoes outside we pass into a room where food is served. We bow our heads whilst Mahatmaji says grace. I have heard many graces, but none like this. Our host's rich sonorous voice lingering long over the Sanskrit vowels, makes the perfect music of penitential thanksgiving.

When the meal is over we go round the school. All is order and happiness. Little things with bright, sparkling eyes, older ones with sedate faces, fill the class rooms, making their models of clay, repeating their lessons together, chanting their verses, listening to their teachers - for the lecture is largely employed at the Gurukula. Classes ended, there is a hearty rush to the playing grounds, each pupil as he passes the master bowing at his feel and with an upward sweep of his joined hands doing him reverence.

In the cool of the afternoon we walk out into the jungle, Mahatmaji telling us as he goes what is heard . The clothing, the grouping, the pose, the long staff, curiously recall the pictures if walk in Galilee which we used to look at on Sundays in our young days - I alone, in my English dress, being incongruous speck in the tableau and its setting. The West blazes into the glory of sunset, the half moon already high overhead pales into a silvery brightness. The long grasses become silent as the night air becomes still, the rustling of restless things is heard with sharp clearness, chilliness settles down upon us. The Gurukula is in darkness. But the blaze of fire comes from the dormitory doors in the centre. Chanting voices fill the quadrangles, On mats, on the grass squat little white figures sitting like Buddha images. They neither move nor take notice of us. They have finished their communal worship and are now alone in silent contemplation.

Within, the house-masters band by a fire blazing in a hole dug in the centre of the floor, and round them, with the fire in their midst, sit their pupil. They are performing

the Agnihotra, one of the most ancient Vedic ceremonies. In the light of the gleam we see the master dip a spoon into a bow in front to him and throw something upon the fire. Up leaps the blaze and the little voices chant in unison "We after to God, omniscient, the Giver of knowledge the Light of lights." Then their is a pause and the fire goes down. Another offering is sprinkled upon it and it flares again filling the long room with a yellow glare and making grotesque shadows dance on the walls and ceiling. And again the little voices chant : "Oh God, we offer to thee who are all in all." So on through pause and gleam and chant until the ceremony is over and the fire dies down, and the stars alone give light in the courts of the Gurukula.

Again we hold out our hands whilst a servant pours water upon them and shoeless we squat on mats to eat our evening meal in the open air. The Ganges is rushing past at our feet making a soothing murmur amongst the shingle. The fluffy plumes of the tall grasses catch up the moon-light, and the jungle glistens as though it were laden with dew . Eerie sounds wandering from far off in the wild make me think of ghosts and lost souls. As in a dream I hear someone saying. "All we want is to be allowed to worship God in peace, is that sedition ?"

Reproduced from the Tribune of 26-4-1914.

GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

It is a gratifying sign that a good deal of activity is to be again seen in Bengal. A society called (Brihattara Bharata Parishad) the "Greater India Society" has been brought into existence with Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, Vice - Chancellor of the Calcutta University as President . The Secretary is Dr. Kalidas Nag M.A., D. Litt (Paris) and the office is at " 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta." The purpose of this Society is expressed in its motto "Atmanam Viddhi" i.e. know thyself. One of its objects is to organise the study of Indian Culture in "Greater India." The inaugural meeting was held on 10th October in the Rammohan Library Hall,

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar being in the chair. A provisional list of Office-bearers etc. was approved unanimously and will be placed for confirmation before the first formal general meeting of the society to be held before 10th April 1927.

VILLAGE TRAINNING TEACHING CLASSES.

Delhi city proper and the surrounding District abound in raw hides and skins and Babul bark which is the chief tanning stuff . But in the absence of an organised tanning industry, the bulk of the available hides, skins and tanning stuff is taken away. In the city proper and villages around, no doubt village chumars are doing their tanning in the primitive system of Indian tannage, but the stuff produced is of very low quality and can not be used as high class leather. These people are doing a lot of business, and in the war-days they did a great deal, indeed, but the purpose of the industry for the good of the country is far remote, as they are absolutely ignorant of applied science, that has brought a new era into the industrial world, and without which nothing can be, expected. Consequently the best course, is to adopt measures to give spot training to these city and village workers, with whom alone the development of the village industry rests.

I have studied closely the system of work, at present in force, of tanning and have visited nearly all the area of Delhi province for surveying the whole position. All the tanners produce poor stuff and the methods applied are too crude to turn out anything better .

Taking into consideration the position revealed, I would propose to establish model tanneries in localities and villages where tanning is done. In this way, the actual system of their work, faults and defects, and other minor details, can very well be examined, and besides disseminating the knowledge of modern scientific processes of tanning, their own methods of working, were necessary, can easily be improved. They will better understand the improvements

so taught to them and the training itself will be more suited to the conditions and requirements of a particular locality. Greater advantages with less expense are expected in this system of training than establishing a high scale elaborate institution .

The class will be at work at one place ordinarily for a period of six months only, unless it is considered feasible to extend the period of stay. During this period we have to examine their system of work and to demonstrate the modern system. After six months, a small model tannery, being handed over to the people trained there, the classes will move to another place. The small amount of money spent in equipping the small class at a certain locality will not be totally wasted but the immovable equipment will be left with the workers there for some price.

The pro' osed scheme will create liabilities more or less note below :

EXPENDITURE

	A . Non - RECURRING.	Rs.
1.	Tools and implements	500
2.	Furniture and other requirements....	
	Total annually	700
	B. RECURRING.	
	Establishment	
1.	Instructor at Rs. 70 pre mensem.....	840
3.	Chamars at Rs. 25 do. do	900
2.	Coolies at Rs. 12-8-0 do ...	300
1.	Peon do do	150
1.	Chowkidar do. do	/3.
	Total establishment	2340
Allowances and honoraria.		Rs.
Travelling allowance		250
Purchase of material for teaching and experiments only.		
(a)	Hides and skins	350

(b) Tan stuffs and Chemicals ...	
Total....	500
Commercial Operation.	
Gross expenditure	5000
Recoveries	
Net expenditure	500
Purchase and repairs of tools	
Total supplies and services ...	1050
Contingencies.	
Purchase of books and periodicals	25
Purchase and repair of furniture ...	25
Rent at Rs. 25 per month ...	300
Miscellaneous charges	
Total contingencies ...	900
Total recurring	4540
Equipment.	
One shed of 60 by 20 Kachha.	
Construction with straw thatched	
bamboo frames	1000
Four lime pits 5′ by 5′ by 4′	160
Four tan pits 6′ by 5′ by 4′ ..	160
Two suspension pits 8′ by 3′ by 3′ ...	60
Earthen tubs, etc.	
For each session	1500
Per annum	3000

As the class will remain at one place for six months only, the equipment charges will have to be incurred twice in a year, making them Rs. 3000 per annum . But if, as proposed, the equipment is sold off , it will yield at least Rs. 1000. Thus great good can be a achieved with the average expenditure of Rs. 7000 only per annum .

After one class has worked at a particular locality, a Cooperative Society of those trained in modern methods will be formed to take up the work on commercial basis. This will not only help to establish a well also afford great impetus to the Cooperative Movement.

Note - This scheme is being submitted to the Delhi, Punjab, U.P. Governments and the District Boards of

Bulandshahar and Meerut , because identical conditions exist in Eastern Punjab and Western United Provinces, making the scheme applicable to these provinces without any variations.

Ramananda Sanyasi
Secretary, Dalit Udhar Sabha, Delhi.

THE HINDU MISSION

The Hindu Mission of Bengal, of which an account was given only last week, is responsible for reclaiming some thousands - Christians and Animists - to Hinduism. On 22nd October the organiser of the Mission, Swami Satyanand went to Shalpada with some workers. A big pandal was erected and Sacrificial fire ignited. From twelve noon to nine p.m., the work of reclamation was going on . All the reclaimed persons had to observe a fast by day and ate -original as well as reclaimed Hindus together - after 9 p.m. Pictures of Srikrishna were distributed and copies of Gita were distributed to those who could read. A few preachers have been left in the area and it is proposed to build there a temple, a primary school and a dispensary. As many of them as possible will be induced to read and write Bengali .

THURSDAY, 4th November , 1926.

HINDU WOMEN

We read with great interest the formation of a Society for "Hindu Law Reform" founded in Poona with Sir Mahadev Bhaskar Chaubal Kt. as President. Sir Mahadev had a distinguished career at the Appellate Bar of Bombay, was Government Pleader for a number of years, a temporary Judge of the Bombay High Court, a Member of the Bombay Governor's Executive Council and a Member of the (Islington) Royal Commission. He is Chancellor of the Indian Women's University founded by Prof. D.K. Karve the unrivalled worker in the cause of Indian women in general and Hindu women in particular. With such a distinguished President,

the Society shows good promise which it will, we wish and hope, satisfy better than Secretaries of State for India do.

Hinduism in practice is a parody of the great religious system founded by our great forbears. Division, exclusion, arrogance stagnancy and hypocrisy are the distinguishing marks of it today. The purpose of almost every Institution founded by the sages has been misunderstood, misrepresented and even prostituted. Elasticity is gone, the power of expansion and assimilation lost, genius crippled, outlook narrowed even like that of a frog-in-a-well, and God is forgotten. The present Hindus talk of God and secretly worship Mammon. Surely it is better to talk of Mammon and also to worship Mammon. Those nations over which we claim spiritual superiority, are, in reality, more spiritual than the Hindus of the day. A Sanskrit verse says "the good man thinks and does the same thing : the bad man thinks of one thing speaks of another and does quite a third I thing." Now imagine a class of erudite Scholars developing this later characteristic as a habit and then imagine a Society blindly following, these scholars. You have a pretty picture of the Hindus of the day .

The Madras Brahmin is the puccaest Brahmin and we quote from the speech delivered by an Iyer at Mysore to prove our proposition. This Iyer was Chief Judge of Mysore. Says he : -

"The history of our country for the past thousand years and more is truly a painful record of division and self-seeking ..... One prime factor in all this has been the exaggeration of a simple and logical differentiation of temperaments and Social duties ... into a most complicated, meaningless and largely out of date structure which has undermined the stamina of the people in all sorts of ways (physically by narrowing the circle of choice in marriage, intellectually by cramping the energies and morally by destroying mutual confidence and havits of co-operation) besides maintaining unhealed an open sore on the body

of Hinduism in an untouchable class numbering nearly a fifth of India's population. "

The position of untouchables is, however, not the only sore of the body of Hinduism : the position of women is another . The same ingenious argumentation is brought to support the one as the other. Nay, the supports of the present pitiable position of Hindu women do not hesitate to cite verses like "where women are adored, there live goddesses" - one of the manifestations of the spirit of hypocrisy to which a reference has already been made. Day by day this sore is being exposed and whether the stagnantes and stationaries will agree or not, an attempt will have to be made to heal it. With the improvement in the status of women in general in the world, Indian women cannot altogether be ignored. The Hindu law relating to women requires a good deal of overhauling and there is no other branch thereof which deserves the earlier attention of Sir Mahadev Chaubal.

In the law relating to women provisions about the "Age of Consent" form the most vital item. Time and tide tarry for no man. Things are changing whether Hindu males wish them or not. The sequestration and the hothouse protection of women in the old style cannot continue. The rigid family system is slackening and, as in every transitional period, the weaker party is suffering from disadvantages alone. Therefore it becomes essential to provide by law additional protection to women during minority. Again and again have attempts been made to raise the age of consent in India. Some improvement has taken place but it is quite inadequate. There is the Bill of Dr. Gour seeking to raise that age to 14. A public meeting of ladies was recently held in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of Women's Indian Association, Dr. (Mrs.) Merabai Gilder L.M.& S. presiding, to support that Bill. The President desired that the Age of Consent should be raised to sixteen, as the period in a girl's life between 12 and 16 years was very important from the point of education. Even if one borrowed the

unchivalrous phraseology of Lord Birkenhead and called women 'conduitpipes,' one would have to admit that a properly dried and heated conduitpipe is preferable to another insufficiently dried and heated. Mrs. Gilder elevated the demand of a higher plane when she said that an educated mother was a national asset as "she would like to see her children educated and developed." And to "make" scheme good citizens. On the motion of Mrs. Hirabai Tata and with the support of half a dozen married ladies one of whom is a Mahomedan lady called Mrs. Tyebji, it was unanimously resolved : -

"That this meeting is of opinion that the system of early marriages in India is harmful and detrimental in its effect on the women and urges in the best interests of India that efforts should be made to raise the age of consent ultimately to sixteen years. This meeting gives its wholehearted support to Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill raising the age of consent from 13 to 14 years ."

The meeting also adopted another Resolution asking a few ladies to be nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council. We have our sympathy with this demand. But we should have pressed for two or three ladies being nominated to the Indian Legislative Assembly as special members in connection with the legislation for raising the Age of Consent. What male advocates have failed to achieve, the persuasive advocacy of the fair ones may accomplish. Ladies will surely distinguish between consent in wedlock and consent out of wedlock. In the latter case, no decent man - no even a Home Member need object to raising the age at once to sixteen. We hope that at the earliest moment the meagre measure asked by Bombay ladies will, at least, be enacted by the Indian Legislature.

Editorial Observations

The Dalit Kaum.

We have great pleasure in welcoming a new Gujerati weekly paper devoted specially to the uplift of the Depressed

Classes published at Navsari. It is called "Dalit Kaum" and is edited by Sjt. Manibhai Dwivedi. It is published every Tuesday and its annual subscription is Rs. 3-4. There is a special conscession provided for Bhils and other suppressed or backward communities who can get it Rs. 2-8 Mr. A.V. Thakkar, president Antyaj Seva Mandal must, of course, be behind this venture in the background. We invite every Gujerati knowing friend of the Depressed to subscribe to our contemporary.

The Hindu Herald

We have received a copy of the Specimen issue of "The Hindu Hearld" published in Lahore and wish it every success. It is edited by Mr. Raghavan who, for several months, was the virtual editor of the "Hindusthan Times." We wish to echo the thought of Mr. Pothan Josheph that the "Hindu Herald" will be the National Herald in fact. Hinduism cannot stand without Swaraj in India because there is no Arabia or Turkey for Hindus to lavish their attentions on. To fight for Swaraj is the first duty of the 'Hindu Herald."

The Himalayan Times

While extending a very hearty welcome to the "Himalayan Times" of which we have received seven issued and which is published at Dehradun, we have to explain our procrastination to our readers. The editor Thakur Chandan Singh is a renowned figure and no novice in the journalistic field. As soon as we heard of the prospect of its publication, we wrote to the Editor our best wishes. Therefore, we could afford to put off the public welcome. We wish to recognise formally that the get-up of the "Himalayan Times" is rather unexpected for a weekly journal and the stuff inside is to match. Surely Thakur Chandan Singh does not require a certificate from us and we shall not assume a patronising attitude. The organ of the Gurkhas, the "Himalayan Times" is not an exclusionist organ. Gurkhas are Hindus and virile to boot. They will be made to

understand their duty to their bigger motherland. Their advancement is a national asset to India and, therefore, we wish our contemporary every success.

Sabari Ashram

The Report of the Sabari Ashram of Olavkode for the year 1925-26 has been published. The Ashram conducts a Gurukula containing eighteen boys whose ages are between 6 and 13. Of the eighteen 3 are Cherumas and 2 are Ezuvas. There are also six orphans handed over by the Arya Samaj. The Ashram appeals for public subscriptions to enable it to on.

THE SHANTI ASHRAMA

The Shanti Ashrama is an institution for the study and diffusion of spiritual truths. It endeavours to peach the one Universal Religion the ancient Vedic Dharma of the Hindu race. To its fold all are welcome who seek to worship the one true and living God in spirit and in truth, and who inspired by a spirit of Brotherhood endeavour to serve Humanity . It seeks to help all, to hate none, and to promote mutual love and co-operation among the different conflicting sections of the Hindu Community, by spreading the Gospel of love and service, and to unite them, closely as parts of one great organic whole, and also to promote good feeling between Hindus and other communities in India. Its greatest aim is to ameliorate and improve the condition of all classes of the Hindu community and more especially of the socalled backward classes .

The chief causes that are leading the Hindu community down to the path of decline and decay are : -

1. Untouchability and unapproachability of six crores.
2. Refusal to take beck into its fold any body who has once renounced the Hindu Religion.
3. Practice of Excommunication.
4. Absence of means for the protection of orphans.
5. Prohibition of widowmarriages.

This list is not exhaustive. There are many more social as well as religious disabilities and weaknesses which will lead the Hindu Samaj to decay and annihilation. It is high time therefore for the Hindu chiefs, rulers, and influential people to bestir themselves for doing some organised work for getting rid of the above disabilities.

METHOD : The Shanti Ashrama shall be a shelter and a training institution for those persons who aspire after the spiritual life and to work for the Hindu solidarity. They shall be given every convenience for study and meditation and will be provided with suitable teacher. When their training is completed these persons shall go out into the village and towns as centres for radiating the life of the spirit. They will organise Sabhas, work for Hindu Sanghtan, open the life of Dwijas to non-Brahmins, remove un-approachability, make improvements in the condition of Hindu women and take all necessary steps to prevent the Hindu community from being shattered into different conflicting compartments. The will be restless to establish the kingdom of God and will spend their lives in serving the Hindu community in various ways according to their varying aptitudes. For this purpose a beautiful plot of ground is acquired by Mr. Arya Bandhu at Chowa and buildings will be gradually constructed according to our means. Mr. Arya Bandhu who is the life and soul of the Arya movement at Chowa has been conducting a charitable dispensary for some time past, and his Snake-bit remedies have been a blessing to many poor people in the neighbourhood. This charitable dispensary will get the honorary aid of Dr. Kumara Menon, L.M.P., who is practising at Chowa for the present . It is our ambition to take into the Ashram as many untouchable and un-approachable young boys as possible and give them Sanskrit and English education and raise their standard of life, to that of the Dwijas.

Attached to this Ashrama there will be a common prayer-hall for the union of devoted souls in praise and

prayer as it bears fruit in wonderful ways and we believe that the coming together of kindred spirits in prayer will be a source of spirits in prayer will be a source of spiritual power and blessedness, strengthening the weak, comforting the afflicted and breathing heart and hope into all who yearn after Hindu Revival and Hindu Regeneration. A Yagna-Sala for the performance of Agnihotra and a library of Hindu Sacred books will also be provided and for all this we look up to the generous public for monetary help. An institution of this kind is an urgent necessity for North Malabar which is very backward in social and Religious reform, and we beg to request all those who love Bhrath Matha and its glorious religion to come forward with voluntary donations and contribute their mite for this most noble and philanthropic cause.

Connanore.

Saddu
Sivaprasad.

A CRUSHING REPLY

Some days ago a Conference of the untouchables of a certain District of Madras was held under the Presidentship of a Musalman leader. He utilised his place in the Chair to preach to his audience a proselytising sermon. Mr. Veerian M.L.C. is a member of the Depressed classes and has, as President of another Depressed Classes Conference given a crushing reply, which is quoted below:-

The curse of untouchability has secured a footing in our land. There is no use of fretting and fuming at it. We have to treat it as a disease and apply the remedies, just as a skilful Doctor does. In our hurry to get rid of this disease we should not go in for quack remedies. We should take care to see that the remedy is not worse than the disease. From time to time in our own country saints and sages have risen and have bodly loved the problems of untouchability peculiar to their own times. As I have indicated elsewhere, Hinduism Jainism and Budhism have ever had their wandering monks who granted Diksha or initiation

elsewhere, Hinduism Jainism and Budhism have ever had their wandering monks who granted Diksha or initiation to whole tribes and comminutes and thus at one stroke elevated them in the social scale. It is also well-known that the Shaivite, Vaishnavite and Tantrik Gurus did the same thing among the submerged classes. Similarly in modern times the untouchables and other submerged classes have been emancipated by those who were comparatively advanced in civilisation. All this shows that when equality of opportunity is given, every submerged class will elevate itself in the social scale within a given period . What is wanted, therefore, is a reasonable amount of material and moral support from the caste Hinds and encouragement from Government. Granting these two conditions and our own self-exertion in the matter of our social welfare, our progress is quite assured. This is our present situation, and it is obvious to everyone who takes a calm and suspassionate view of the situation in our country today; but curiously enough an honourable colleague of mine has suggested a quack remedy for all the present ills under which the Adi Dravidas or Depressed Classes are Suffering. The panacea discovered by my friend Khan Bhadur P. Khalifulla Sahib Bahadur M.A., B.L. M.L.C., in his Presidential Address before the Shiali Adi Dravida Conference is that if we desert our ancestral religion or leave the fold of Hinduism and embrace Islam our progress is quite assured. It comes only to that conclusion. My friend says that as Islam is a democratic religion it will give a warm welcome to the Adi Dravidas and that the Adi Dravidas will find their perfect bliss within the Islamic fold . While I have profound respect for the life and teachings of the Great Prophet Mohamed and while I sincerely believe that of all the religions of the world Islam is the most democratic, I do not at all see why any Hindu should leave his ancestral religion. Hinduism is as broad as it is tolerant. The most ignorant worshippers of stocks and stones as well as those who have attained the very heught of spiritual bliss have an assured place in

Hinduism. Hinduism has been rightly compared to a huge human tree spreading its far - reaching branches over hundreds of sects, and as Professor Max Muller says, "No phase of religion, from the coarest superstition to the most sublime enlightenment is unrepresented in this country". Moreover the idea of any one embracing another religion with a view to feather one's own nest or insearch of some material gain is not at all commendable or elevating. My honourable friend has unfavourably compared the mass conversion from Hinduism to Christianity ; but he and others of his way of thinking have evidently forgotten that there are very many Christian Institutions in India which do not all trouble themselves about conversions, but are mainly devoting their time and money in the social educational and medical spheres, from a humanitarian standpoint. While giving the due meed of praise to their splendid humanitarian work, thoughtful and experienced publicists like Mr. K. Natarajan have always deprecated the proselytising activities of Christian Missionaries in India (Vide The Indian social Reformer of July 3rd 1926) . Mr. Natarajan's wise suggestion applies with equal force to our Islamic brethren also. Anyhow, nobody will have objections to my friend rendering help to the Adi Dravidas from the humanitarian rather than the conversion point of view. It is worth mentioning here that Emperor Babar's memorable advice to his beloved son Humayun was to treat the different peculiarities of the Indian subjects as the different peculiarities of the Indian subjects as the different seasons of the year; so that the body politic may remain free from disease.

[The Liberators, 4 November, 1926]

Rishi Dayanand

On 5th November fell the Death anniversary of Swami Dayanand Saraswati. It was observed with great enthusiasm by branches of the Arya Samaj all over India and at several centres outside India . A public meeting was held in Delhi at the Arya Samaj mandir Swami Shraddhananda presiding. The peculiar feature of the meeting was that it was addressed among others, by a Christian Padre called Ahmed Masih, a Musalman. MaulvieAfzal-ul-Haq and a Musalman swarafist Mr. Asif Ali.

The speech of the Christian Padre was a very remarkable one. In the very introduction he acknowledge the strength of the Arya Samaj in allowing the use of its platform to a Christian Preacher to say what the latter felt for or against the Vedic Dharma. The fact that he could speak under the presidentship of Swami Shraddhanand, said he, proved the board mind and frank heart of the adherents of the Faith. It was Swami Dayanand, he went on to say, who opened the sealed book of the Vedas to every seeker of truth. Swami Dayanand has done the greatest harm to Christians, so much so that Christians can have no peace until Arya Samaj is hounded out of this world. There were any number of Hindu widows and orphans whom they could acquire ! but the Arya Samaj opened rescuehomes and stopped this easy supply. By attending to the woes of widows and other helpless persons, Swami Dayanand did good to his soul and caused them great loos which they had to bewail. There was an Arya goldsmith in Delhi

who recited Koran with an ease hardly attained by a Maulvie of Mecca and it was extremely desirable that somebody should discover some medicine which would make him blind and another which would make him dumb. If there were no Swami Dayanand, numerous Hindus would have embraced Christianity.

We have given there excerpts from this Christian Padre's speech to prove to sour South Indian readers the utter beselessness of the charges made by certain Musalman leaders and slavishly reiterated by certain Hindu leaders against North India Hindus in general and the Arya Samajists in particular. These remarks of this Christian Padre will prove who is responsible for the amount of unrest and headbreaking and Hindu Muslim disunity of which, as usual, people farthest away make the most . It is the characteristic of Hindus and especially of the Englisheducated Hindus to believe in unfounded charges against other Hindus. Indeed such charges come to them as a godsend to explain away their failure or to employ their tongues and pens with. As usual the South Indian Brahmin and especially the Vaishnava, who embodies the acme of orthodoxy, finds this to be a very profitable game, so much so that even Mr. Sastri indulged in it without caring to know facts in spite of the high admiration in which both Mr. Gokhale and Justice Ranade held the revered Swami Dayanand and the Arya Samaj.

Pandit Motilal Nehru spoke like an inspired man the other day when he said that even Islam would have lived as a sect of Hinduism if the latter had maintained its pristine vitality. In one sentence Pundit Motilal has concentrate the whole message and the lifework of Swami Dayanand. Hinduism was suffering from fatty degeneration which clogged the heart . The gold was concealed in the dross. Rishi Dayanand sparated the dross, reduced the fat and cleared the Augean stables of Hindu superstition. He revivified the Aryan Faith which appeared to have been lifeless. He restored to consciousness the great Hindu

community which was suffering from spiritual septicaemia. He observed the vulnerable point of the Hindu Society and applied his extraordinary intellect to remove or fortify them . Those, who were accustomed to take advantage of them, were apparently enraged and indulged in violence. The responsible party is the latter and not the former. We shall put a simple case for a test. A thief attacks a house and removes property unopposed there is no violence or bloodshed. He proceeds to an adjoining house, is resisted and there is bloodshed. Who is responsible for it?

Swami Dayanand told Hindus that it was their business to stand erect. We know Lokamanya Tilak taught the same thing and also know how he was accused of inciting people to commit violence even by those persons who began to sing paeans in his praise within a week of his death . Apparently their standing erect was resented by those who profited by their bending attitude. Swami Dayanand told Hindus to be physically strong because a strong mind would inhabit only a strong body . He taught them once again the great dictum of the Lord "नायमात्मा बलहीने लभ्यः।" Hindus resent being told that "a cow has no soul." He taught that the very basis of Sattva was courage. And what else is Mahatma Gandhi teacher today ? Is he asking you to run away at the sight of danger ?

Swami Dayanand taught Hindus that they had lost their heritage because they disregarded the essence and lavished all their attention on unmeaning details. Instead of assimilating, they began to ex-communicate. Instead of constructing, they attended to hair-splitting. Instead of expanding, they began to imitate the frog-in-the-well. They disregarded the Vedas and doted on the commentaries. They created watertight and hereditary castes and even sub-castes. They went to the length of creating a fifth caste of untouchables. They segregated, handicapped and devitalised a half of the community viz., the women . Practice began to recede from precept even as the horizon recedes from you. Talking of the equality of the soul whether of a pig

or a Maharaja, a working distinction was drawn between the soul of Sect X and Sect Y. Disruption and fragmentation became the order of the day. Swami Dayanand taught the Hindus that they had to recollect the Vedas if they wished to save themselves from annihilation .

Swami Dayanand was always very emphatic on the necessity of removing the stigma of untouchability from Sixty Million Hindus. We find now that everybody is interested, at least verbally, in the uplift of the Depressed Classes. The greatest amount of unadvertised work in this direction has to be found in Punjab, the home of Aryasamaj. We do now find that madras Presidency, in which the evil exists is the worst from, is paying a great lot of attention to these submerged classes. The pioneer in this field is Swami Dayanand. Our Maharashtra friends may put forward their claim, the late Mr. Jyotiba Fule having started a school for untouchable boys more than fifty years ago. Even now you will find Government Agency busy in the uplift of the Depressed Classes of Madras Presidency, while in Punjab that Agency is at best indifferent, almost all the work being done by private agencies, the Arya Samaj or Pro-Arya bodies. In the Madras Presidency there is a Department which devotes its attention specially to these classes and there are several nominated members of these classes in the Legislative Council. One of them Mr. R. Veerian as President of the First Tamil Naidu Depressed Classes Conference said:

"Let us not lower ourselves in our own estimation simply because other think low of us. To be suppressed is not to be inferior. I, for one, will be ever ready to say without feeling the slightest shyness that I do belong to a sub-merged not to disown their Kith and Kin whatever may be their social status or religious faith. There is no harm in revealing our identity and after all we are the children of one God and He knows no distinction of caste or creed. Let us, therefore consider that revealing our identity is a great honour to the whole sub-merged community. This new conception of our place in the scheme

of life should necessarily impart a spirit of self-respect among our people who have hitherto been deprived of all the amenities of life ."

This new conception would not have been so easy of expression but for the preaching and lifework of Swami Dayanand. Every prophet is misunderstood and misrepresented and even persecuted . Abraham Lincoln was assassinated : his work and name have been immortalised. Even so with Swami Dayanand Saraswati.

Rishi Dayanand-the man and his message

BY T.L. VASWANI.

Looking through my window at the stars one night I said to myself. "These stars, also, looked upon the India of long ago." Then in sorrow I asked : -

"But how many today member that India. Ancient Aryavarta, the India that was model nation, India that was the Leader of Civilization and the Teacher of the world?"

That India remembered he to whom this day is sacred - Rishi Dayanand. He passed away on the Diwali day almost half a century ago. He was poisoned. He had the courage to ask his countrymen to turn away from the cruel customs and foolish superstitions which had weakened Hindu society. He asked the Hindus to turn to the wisdom of the Rishis and walk the way of a simple, spiritual life. So only could the Hindus be strong and great again. Like the world's truly great ones Dayanand was persecuted. He died on the Diwali day at Ajmer blessing the very man who had poisoned him.

On Shanti ! Shanti! Shanti !

These ancient mystic words were the very last upon his lips before he passed away.

He re-discovered the Rishis for us. He reproclaimed the wisdom of the Vedas. A brahmachari, he renounced mother, father, money-every earthly possession to save Hindu society by the power of tapasya . Thinking of him and his wonderful work I have said to myself again and

again : It is the power of tapasya that will save the Hindu sabhas is taken up by tapasvings,, by men of the spirit may Hindu society be strengthened and re-vitalised.

With love and reverence in my heat I how to his name on this sacred day He preached the ancient ideal. May the Samaj he founded spread for and wide the message of that ideal and so help Hindu society to be strong for the task of the coming days ! Simple life and spiritual aspirations were the two essentials of the Aryan ideal. And in these two is the strength of a nation.

Deepavali day.

Editorial Observations

Adi-Dravidas and Hinduism

Since the Government of Madras announced that the District organisations of the Depressed classes in Madras Presidency should sent their recommendations for nomination of members to the Legislative Council through the central association to The Labour Commissionor for consideration by the Government, a good deal of activity is being shown by the District sabhas. And they are also proving that they are undoubtedly Hindus. When we read the address of Mr. Veerian as President of the Manaparai Depressed Classes Conference, we began to sent the Hinduism of these classes. The desire on the parts of some professional leaders to secure their own nomination "upset their power of judgement and led them to split up the Depressed classes into so many compartments." Subsequent event are bearing out the suspicion . Elsewhere we publish an account of a public meeting of Adi-Dravidas of Trichinopoly which will give convincing evidence thereof. Dissension ! thy name is Hinduism. A man buried kneedeep in mud looks down upon another buried waistdeep ! both are a hundred and fifty percent Hindus. When different subsections of the Depressed classes imitate such two persons, their Hinduism is proved beyond doubt . Now at any rate, the Chairs and Iyengars

Shastris and Sarmas should acclaim them as their brothers and should cease to call them Avarnas !

Back to Delhi

H.E. Lord Irwin is back is Delhi and we cordially welcome him. His Excellency has shown considerable interest in the lot of the Depressed classes in central Provinces and the Bombay Presidency and, we hope will pay some attention to the grievances of those in Delhi . The Chief Commissioner has bluntly refused to consider them and for the convenience of the jealous cats of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, the lot of some lacs, who inhabit this toyprovince of Delhi, is surrendered to the arbitrary will of one man - who again is virtually an automaton, the leading strings of legislation being at Lahore. We hope Lord Irwin will see the hopeless iniquity of the situation , generally in connection with all the inhabitants and in particular with the socalled untouchable communities .

Agricultural Improvement

We have been following the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture with great interest, but the interest they have aroused in the commercial circles of England is greater. That interest creates a misgiving in our minds. We have no mind to question the sincirity of Lord Irwin. But the events of the last six month have shown that he is peculiarly amenable to education . His speech at the Chelmsford Club and the one at the Assembly Chamber will show the meaning of what we say. The former is entirely his spontaneous speech ; the latter evinces education at the hands of Sir Alexander Muddiman. His Excellency's references to excessive fragmentation of holdings and India's capacity to produce more of things which foreign countries can buy smack of education. We may tell His Excellency that any improvement, which involves the largescale use of machinery manufactured outside India, will be unwelcome, keenly resented and stoutly resisted by

agriculturists as well as the urban population . Any attempt at such improvement will only lead to unrest and heartburning .

Election Fatality

We are grieved to learn of the sudden death of Dr. Lohokare on the eve of the General Elections in the Bombay Presidency. Dr. Lohokare was contesting the Poona City seat on the Local Legislative Council as a nominee of the Responsive Cooperation Party. After having been a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, it was an act of condescension and sacrifice on his part to consent to go to the Local council on behalf of the R.C. Party. Dr. Lohokare was a very hard worker and it was only by his own unaided efforts that he got elected three years ago. He was essentially a man of the people and we regret his death all the more.

Another Fatality

Mr. Satyamurthi, the trumpetmajor of Madras came to these parts, saw and retired. Now the trumpetminor Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar is coming. We cannot imagine a worse abuse of Congress Funds than to import these South Indian Brahmins, ignorant of Hindi or Urdu, to prance about in the Punjab for electioneering on behalf of the Indian National Congress. Success secured through his English Vaishnavism is worse than defeat. His tour is, of course, a Godsend to the Associated Press of India.

A Namasudra President

A mass meeting was recently held at Phultala (Khulna) with Babu Devendra Nath mallick B.L. a Namausudra pleader of Khulna in the chair. All castes of Hindus were in the meeting which was attended by 500 Namasudras. The objects of the meeting were to bridge the gulf between the different sections of the Hindu community by removing untouchability and to devise ways and means to present a united front and to make a bold stand for the maintenance of Hindu

rights and interests. Resolutions to that effect as also to organise defence parties, to establish primary schools and provide other facilities for the education and allround improvement of the Namsudra community were unanimously passed. The President exhorted the audience to organise themselves and to uphold the best traditions of their religion. The Namasudra community promised to guard the rights and interests of the Hindus against wanton attacks. A strong executive Committee was formed to carry out the resolutions passed in the meeting with the Namasudra pleader Devendra nath Malick as President, Babus Sudhir Chandra De and Abhoy Sardar as Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively.

In Adamdighi, there is some agitation amongst Namasudras for securing social rights from upper class Hindus.

Hindu Mission

Swami Satyananda, organiser of the Hindu Mission paid a visit to Paksey (Bengal) and left a worker in the locality. Swami Satyananda and Swami Nageshanand paid a visit to Krishnagore and addressed a public meeting in Ramgopal Town Hall on the present condition of the Hindu Society and on the means to resuscitate it. Three non-Hindu families were initiated into Hinduism after due performance of Puja and Homa. A preacher of the Hindu Mission has been kept to work in the District of Nadia .

Swami Satyananda of the Hindu Mission has made a statement about the Calcutta Public Durgotsab in the course of which he complains that the principal object i organising the Pujah, which was to call the socalled lowcastemen and converted Hindus to enjoy the same privilege in worshipping the goddess with the socalled highcastemen, was defeated by some persons . He intended to hold a big conversion ceremony in the Puja Pandal and a score of non-Hindus were ready to receive initiation during the Puja days. As, however, several persons, who wanted to exploit the

movement for personal ends, opposed the idea, the function had to be given up to the great disadvantage of the Hindu Mission and to the disappointment of several persons who subscribed at the request of Swami Satyanand.

Adi-Dravidas Obstructed

A procession of Dharmarajaswami in Nun-gambakam (Madras) was taken round the streets of that division, last week, with Nageswaram music immediately in front of the palanquin in which the Swami was carried. The Thampatam beater were Adi-Aravidas and as they approached an agraharam, the Brahmins of that street came out and obstructed the procession. A commotion was caused among the large crowd of the procession and the pretensions of Brahmins, whose spokesman in the pretensions of Brahmins, whose spokesman in the Madras Legislative Council supported the claim of Adi-Dravids to enter temples, were exposed. Among the objectors were a large proportion of educated men earning their living by writing or talking English. The non-Brahmins of the street, however, asserted themselves and the procession was allowed to pass in peace and safety.

At a meeting of the members of the Maruthavakula community, at Salem, it was resolved : -

"The members of the Maruthavakula Sangam, Salem, wholeheartedly welcome the Religious Endowments Act passed by the Madras Legislative Council and request H.E. the Viceroy to give his assent to the same. They further congratulate the Rajah of Panagal for his able conduct in having it passed in the Legislative council and request him to take such steps as to allow the depressed and oppressed classes facilities for templeentry. " (Italics ours.)

Representation of the Depressed Class

A meeting was held no Sunday 31st October under the auspices of the Adi-Dravida Mahajan Sadbha, Mytapore Branch (Madras) and the following Resolution was

unanimously passed :

That this meeting humbly request His Excellency the Governor of Madras to nominate Rao Bahadur M.C. Raja M.L.C., to the Indian Legislative Assembly and Messrs. Kalathur Manuswamy Pillai of Madras, R. Veerian of Coimbatore and C. Mangaleshvaram Pillai to the Madras Legislative Council to represent the Depressed Classes.

At a special conference of the Mathuraj Mahajana, Chingleput District, it was resolved : -

"That this conference recommends Mr. T.K. Periaswami Pillai for the Madras Legislative Council as the representative of the community for nomination by the Government."

Emergency Position in Bengal

"When I left Bengal, things were not particularly rosy" said the Maharajah Bahadur when referring to the State of Emergency being declared by the Government of Bengal, "but", said he "in all these things it is the Hindus who will suffer most of the ceremonies and rituals of Hindus depend on outside public demonstrations. If, under the Emergency Powers the Police at any place become over zealous all these Hindu celebrations will undoubtedly suffer."

Hindu-Muslim Tension

"The feeling of rivalry between the Hindus and Muslims have been terribly increasing lately and unless something is done to prevent that , India is bound to go down and down politically. Since the reforms, this seed of friction due to communal representation has filtered down to the Municipalities and Local Boards, to educational Institutes and the Services, to the very heart of Indian Society in fact. The only thing I can see is for some device for changing the communal electorate to a general one.

Safeguard Muslim Rights

"It is necessary to have the same number of seats allotted to each community as the enjoy at present, the difference

being they will be elected by a combined electorate consisting of both Hindus and Mohammadans. Thus the electors will have an opportunity to come together, rub shoulders and very soon they will be able to feel together on sound national lines.

A Possible Objection

"It is likely that an objection may be raised that by this means the extreme section of any party may not succeed in getting elected. But, as the British Government has now learnt to appreciate, cooperation among people of extreme views, but it is only those who are prepared to give and take that can come together and work a common cause. It is in the best interests of India and Britain that India should be one solid unit in the British Commonwealth and therefore it is essential that the more extreme sections amongst the communal strifes should be eliminated in moulding a unitarial national life."

Christian and Communal Representation

The 21st session of the United Provinces Indian Christian Conference was held at Allahabad on 8th November , Mr. N.Jordon presiding . The President delivered his address in the Vernaculars. He referred to the Christian Community's stand that communal representation did not make for national solidarity but led to disintegration and expressed the hope that the Conference also would stand by that noble principle.

Colonel Wedgwood on Communal Representation

In his letter to Lala Lajpat Rai published in the "People" of 7-11-26, Colonel Wedgwood writes : -

"I still believe that, if we could have avoided communal representation, democratic institutions could have been used to unite the two communities .... I do sincerely hope that you will make the abolition of the all Community representation and jobs one of the chief planks of your

programme and I do equally hope that you will stop the priests and fanatics and fanatics and superstition-mongers getting their nose into the trough ." (italics ours)

Youth and Communal electorates

A League of Indian-Youth has been conceived, and the gentleman seeking to organise it is a Musalman named Mohammed Ahsan, Brij Ratan Library, Moradabad U.P. The items of the Scheme for which the League is going to fight contain :

(1) Abolishing separate electorates and other denominational institutions.

Communal electorates and peace

Mr. Yunus, Baratlaw (of Behar and Orissa) said : -

"I agree with Sir P.C. Mitter that better relations are not likely to be established until elections are over, for 1 think that leaders of both the communities are at present too afraid to handle the situation lest it may affect their elections."

MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES
In Afghanistan

Mr.G.K.Nariman, a Parsi, was an honoured guest of the Amir of Afghanistan. After his return he wrote : -

"We Indians, illstarred victims to fanaticism, squabble over music before mosques. The enlightened monarch of Kabul has a band playing in the Shahi Mosque on the Id day."

Tewfic Bey was interview in India and boldly said that this problem of "Music before Mosques" was created by fanatics.

In Sind

At Sehwan in Sind, there is a well-known shrine of Lal Shahbaz, whose Sijad Nikshin is exempted from appearing in law courts and for whose up-keep, the government have

granted a large tract of land, where Mahomedans from Afghanistan and other distant places and Mirs of Sind come to pay respect and is visited by high Civil and Military Officers. In the open spacious yard of this shrine there is a mosque reserved for prayers. Here by the side of the mosque after sunset, big drums the like of which are hardly to be seen in any place in India, beat daily accompanied by the shrill Indian trumpet called "Shurnaee" for an hour and a half . This is a gain repeated at bed time and again at 4 a.m. throughout the year . This beating of drums is carried on in the face of those who are offering prayers after the congregational prayer is over . During "Moharrum," processions are taken out with drums and other musical instruments, accompanied by singing of mournful dirges in delightful tunes for which good throated persons are equisitioned and these processions pass through the heat of the town past by mosques and temples and no exception at all is taken by any body . These processions are on an extensive scale, where, in the singing, dancing girls also participate, when the fair of Lal Shahbaz takes place .

In Mysore

The Mysore Government has accepted the Shimoga Town Council's recommendation for a free grant of a site for the construction of an Idga and Mosque for the benefit of the Mahomedan inhabitants of the locality on the conditions that there should be no burial in the compound a and that no objection should be taken to the playing of music in front of the mosque. The application subscribing to these conditions was in July last. It has to be note that the present Divan of Mysore is a Musalman.

In Punjab

The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee have adopted a resolution which, when rendered into English, runs as follows : -

"Resolved that it may be made clear to the Government

of India and the Government of the Punjab that on the occasions of the Gurupurbs it has been the fundamental and religious right of the Sikhs to pass in processions through the public road singing shabads and playing music. The canons of law and morality allow the free exercise of this right to every citizen. It is, therefore, no right of anybody on such holy occasions to stop any procession from playing music when passing before a mosque during prayertime . The Sikhs have from times immemorial been taking out their Nagarkirtan Processions accompanied by bands and music without let or hindrance ad the question of the hindrances of the above description has been raised only quite recently."

We wished that the resolution were more forceful and explicit in giving the right lead to the people in the matter of taking our their religious processions and asserting their right of religious freedom with courage and daring. The Birth Anniversary of Sri Guru Nanak Devji is fast approaching and the Sikhs of several places are very anxious to assert their religious freedom on that occasion . We wish the Sikh community approached this question in right earnest and considered it in all its bearings and that without any further loss of time. The Punjab.

At Rawalpindi

After a good deal of consultation amongst the well-known Sikhs of Punjab, it has been decided to celebrate the birthday Anniversary of Guru Nanakdev as usual by taking out a procession throughout the city without obtaining a license from the police. The Sikh leaders have unanimously decided to assert their right of playing music on public roads.

In Calcutta

During Diwali, a number of processionists were returning home after the immersion of Goddess kali through a place called Nakasipara in Shampukur District (Bengal), is going on, over three hundred having quite cheerfully

accepted imprisonment. Today is the seventy - third day of Satyagraha. Elaborate arrangements for additional police are made. According to a report in the "Forward," leaflets proclaiming that additional police will be quartered at Patuakhali have been widely circulated. Great enthusiasm prevails among Hindus.

Pandit Motilal's Opinion

Addressing a public meeting at Etah in the Mehta Park, Pandit Motilal Nehru said :

"As regards playing music before mosques, it is the right of every individual to play music on any of His Majestry's highways and no person has a right to prevent the exercise of such right ; even the sanction of custom cannot deprive a man of such right."

The Modern Review - for November contains an article on the latest session of the League of Nations and a letter by Ramananda Chitterjea. Among the Notes, those on the Police Commissioner's Report on Calcutta Riots and on the Protection of Minorities are remarkable.

The Indian Review - for October contains a facsimile of the Signatures of all the Members of the South African Deputation who recently visited Indian and luminous article on "The Nayaks of Madura" by Principal Nilakanta Sastri of the Sri Meenakshi College of Chidambaram which has received some special advertisement from the recent visit paid by Lord Goschen.

Abkari -The quarterly organ of the Anglo - Indian Temperance Association for October, wonders that "The Premier Moslem state in India should be so 'British' in its Excise Administration" and congratulates Maulvi Abdul Latif Khan Sahib, the Excise Commissioner on the increase from 857993 to 993765 proof gallon in the consumption of country liquor in one year .

The Indian Currency League.

Pamphlet No. 1 : Currency Policy of Government Criticised, being speeches of Sir Pursushsottamdas Thakurdas,

Sir Victor Sassoon Mr. B.F. Madan etc.

Pamphlet No. 2 : The 18d. ratio and Its Ruinous Results by B.F. Madon.

Parallel Quotations : By T.V. Kulkarni B.A., L.L.B., Pleader Dhulia (Bombay Presidency) ; Price As. 12 . This is a compilation of quotations from English literature and Sanskrit literature carrying the same or similar import . In the words of the compiler in his Foreword, "There is certainly a pleasure in watching how currents of human thought, divided from each other by vast distances of space and time, do after all coincide and our into the same channel. And this pleasure almost unconsciously glides into a just pride when the reader finds that the ancients of has own country have thought as diversely, have felt as deeply and have sung as sweetly as those of any of the socalled civilise nations of the World." This book is the first of its kind and may provoke "another work of this type by some one." It is equally useful to the student in the technical sense as well as to the lay-reader. To make it more useful to the former, the compiler has "given a few proverbs at the end of the book and has also added explanatory notes. " This is certainly a commendable attempt.

Live and Learn

Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Ramsay Macdonal P.C. , the first Labour Premier, writes : -

"If life has taught me these things, has it untaught me nothing, shattered on illusions, corrected no preconceived notions ? That is not a claim I should be very satisfied to make, for it is no compliment to be told that we have changed in nothing and have discovered nothing . Life cannot teach the man who regards all its vicissitudes as serving no other purpose than the corroboration of the his own theorise an guesses. Consistency is not the same thing as stanganation."

[The Liberators, 11 November, 1926]

The Ordeals Aryasamaj Had To Pass Through

I

India was like a broad expanse of the dead when the British first occupied it. All life was dead and virility had gone out of the people. Hindus, specially, were paralyzed on account of their bondage of centuries under the Muslim rule and misrule. It was at such a time that a great seer arose who tried to put life into the dead bones of Indians.

When a foreign people occupy a city of the dead, and think of ruling it without human interference they are startled if a single person shewed recovering life. Dayananda not only shewed signs, signs of virility of the best type, but tried to put life into the dry bones of degenerated Hinduism. He also attracted of truth-seeking foreigners and when Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott reached the shore of Ind to sit at the feet of the great Rishi for learning Truth, the British Bureaucracy was shaken to its very depths. The Christian Missionary also had his fair share in setting Government officials against Rishi Dayananda and the Samaj founded by him, and for very good reasons. Dayananda stood as a powerful obstruction in the way of conversions by Christian Missions who had been reaping a bumper harvest out of the field of Hinduism.

Not only the Christian Missionary but the Muhammadan politician and leader, Sir Sayyad Ahmad, who had imbibed his index of an enlightened Commentary of the Quran from Dayanand, also began to look askance at his Mission.

The result was that, gradually the Aryasamaj became a suspected body and all the agitation for human rights started in the country began to be attributed to the activities of the Aryasamaj. After the event culminating in the deportation of Lala Lajpatrai and Sirdar Ajeet Singh, the Aryasamaj began to be publicly charged with sedition and efforts were made to learn all about its socalled inner in contradistinction to its outer activities.

The Indian Government determined to learn all about the different religious, social and educational organizations in the country; for its startled conscience smelt sedition and politics under every possible society. Matters came to a head after the Anrchical uprisings in Bengal and expert officers were deputed to prepare histories of all movements from the foreign rulers' point of view. The work of the preparation of a history of the Aryasamaj was entrusted to a very clever and capable Police Officer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The book, when complete, was printed and distributed to the different Provincial Governments of India. The ways of Providence are inscrutable. A copy in typescript came to the late Mr. Myron H. Phelps who was thus forearmed to meet the charges of European Officials against the Aryasamaj. Another copy found its way to an English friend of India who is still in the land of the living. Extracts from that composition, which are mischievous statements about the Gurukula, have been given publicity in the press, from time to time.

That statement about the Aryasamaj is a historical document of no mean value and I propose to reprint the whole of it with my comments thereon where necessary, the first chapter of which will be published next week. While going through another series dealing with the principles of the Aryasamaj, the readers of the "Liberator" will have the history of the movement from a hostile point of view. This Comparative study will shew my readers both the actual strength and the present weakness of the world-wide Dharmic Movement started by Dayanand the Seer.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.

Representation of the Depressed Classes

At a general meeting of the Arundhateya Mahasabha (Madras) it was resolved that the Government be requested to make it a policy not to appoint a Christian though belonging to the Arundhateya community to represent that the Arundhateya community to represent that community in any public body. At a subsequent meeting three names of acceptable representatives were passed and it was resolved to communicate them to the Labour Commissioner.

Volunteer Conference

The Third Hindustani Seve Dal (the Fourth All India Volunteer) Conference shall be held at Gauhati during the Congress week in December.

At least four delegates, who must necessarily be either members or associates of the Dal enrolled this year, must be elected by each Congress Province. If there are lesser number of delegates from any province, that Province shall not be considered as having representation at the Conference because as usual, votes will be taken by Provinces, and less than four delegates from a Province means, it is as good as not represented. The delegates, however, may take part in the deliberations. There will be no fees for the delegates. Visitors will be charged one rupee ; and the fees of R.C. will be fixed by the Reception Committee of Gauhati.

RABIES

The election of Lala Rang Behari Lal to the Legislative Assembly on behalf of Delhi has become the veritable rabies to the Swarajists technically socalled. It has become that almost to every LEADER great and small. Real lovers of real democracy may derive satisfaction in the total defeat which every boss has met in Delhi in the course of this election. Between the bosses of the Swaraj party and those of other parties, the latter appear to have a better sense of humour. The former say it is the victor of the latter.

"All right" say these "we shall enjoy Diwali ; you are at liberty to swear." Truth to speak, the success of Lala Rang Behari Lal is much the defeat of the Malaviya Pandit as of the Kashmiri Pandit. It is the victory of the common man, the real demos. Such a victory is rare and all Young Members of the rank and file must rejoice at it. As regragds merit, one may be pardoned for saying that in rendering tangible service to the people Rang Behari Lal is not much behind Diwan Chamal lal though in turning out facile epigrams and fervid perorations in English the latter may easily beat the former. By the bye Diwan Chamal Lal, who roared in Bombay, has not a word to say about the abject and pitiable condition of the factory worker in Delhi. Enthusiastic in helping those who could help themselves, Mr. D. Char.al Lal has probably not cared to enquire how workers ar . weated and every one of the few benignent provisions of the Factory Act is ignored or defeated in this Imperial Capital. On the contrary Rang Behari Lal has rendered to a large number of his electors a good deal of tangible service. The Swaraj Party may not only make demands on and render no service to the people of Delhi.

Victory and Defeat

Pandit Motilal Nehru need not be so very lugubrious nor need he swear quire so much. The victory may be put to the credit of "Lincoln, Morgan Ekram-ul Heq and Co., Ltd." The connecting link between these two successfully prevented Lal Shankar Lal in the Sangam theatre Swaraj Party election meeting from proposing a Congressman to the chair.

Truth May Be Told

It should be pardonable to speak the truth even in politics. The truth is that in spite of the most strenuous efforts of all the Musalman leaders aided by the whole influence of the Congress, not even sixty percent of the Musalman voter took the trouble of voting for Mr. Asaf

Ali who was the only Musalman standing. There are more than 1800 Musalman viters and Lala Rang Behari lal got less than that number. Mr. Asaf Ali had the support of all Hindus who are staunch Congressmen and of a substantial number of non-Hindu non-Mahomedan voters. The Swaraj Party need not suppress or poohpooh all these facts.

Not to Order

Even Delhi will not play every part to the order of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Asaf Ali and Mr. Satyamurti, unless one of these (or all together) procure Prosperous's spell. Delhi played the part which the "trademark" Swarajists wanted her to play in September 1923. Poor nochangers! They paid the cost of not counting the Government as a fact in the three years 1921, 1922 and 1923. Now the "trademark" Swarajist have paid the penalty of not counting riots as a fact. After all they stand for communal electorates and, one may be forgiven for submitting that they need not swear if Delhi Musalmans are given a separate seat on the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Neither Fair Nor Prudent

It was not more reasonable to make Delhi the testing ground for the principle of Joint Electorates than that polygamy should be tested by making a man, 6ft. tall and 95lbs. in weight, marry five wives. Again Delhi does not stand segregated from the rest of the country and it is no more feasible for its atmosphere to be lucid in the present state of the country than it would be for pure blood to run say in the left thigh alone, while in every other part of a man's body septic is freely running. (This is apart from the fact that the Special Session of the Khilafat Conference held in May had specifically poisoned the atmosphere of Delhi.) If any Congress leaders stand for joint electorates, it is not to their interests to make too much of this result in the exceptional circumstances obtaining in Delhi. Surely the case for "Joint Electorates" must be too well founded

to be shaken by a stray result, if it is to carry conviction to any body's mind. After all you should not want to spoil your case by emphasising the weakest part : why do you not rather point a finger of pride to the fact that four Parsis have got elected in the City of Bombay and only two Hindus inspit of the latter being at least twice as many on the electoral roll as the Parsis ?

Loyal to their past

These two cities have been loyal to their past. They have given the same verdict as in 1923. The Special Session of the Congress for killing Gandhism in favour of trademark Swarajism was to be held in Bombay, But with a good deal of wirepulling Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Asaf Ali got the venue shifted to Delhi, simply because they knew that the Congress, which was Gandhi Congress then, was strong in Bombay and the labelled Swarajism had a chance of success only in Delhi. Now Mrs. Naidu seems to repent the part she played then from her statement in reply to Mr. Baldwin that real non-cooperation is the measure of Indians' readiness for Swaraj. The same story has been repeated in 1926. A combatant should not always expect victory and ought to be able to take a sportsman like view of defeat. And Nationalists need not paint the picture unnecessarily black. Even the "Communal stunt" may not be stressed too much. In politics, a stunt is a boomerang. A personal vendetta even against Lala Lajpat Rai may be come one.

First National Ministry

The Official News Agency of India having given certain figures about the comparative strength of Hindus and Musalmans on the Assembly electoral Roll for Delhi, we recommend to our numerous contemporaries including the "Servant of India," the principal organ of the experts' party, the following figures as an alternative suggestion for their condescending consideration. We write subject to correction.

Delhi Electorate.

Musalmans........	1822
Europeans........	236
Sikhs............	32
Hindus..........	10/0
Total......	5302
Votes Cast.	
Lala Rang Behari Lal.....	1680
M. Asaf Ali..........	1447
Lala Shiv Narain.......	474
Votes Rejected.....	19

Pandit Motilal Nehru is rather overworking God Pluto. Gandhism is not dead though Swarajists dug a grave at Delhi for it. So will Indian nationalism not die, though several graves have been dug in Delhi on several occasions for it.

THURSDAY, 18th NOVEMBER, 1926
THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

The present Premier Mr. Baladwin is a good fellow: so is the present Viceroy Baron Irwin. Both have been showing themselves amenable to education. If the educators of the former have been Lords Birkenhead and Winterton, those of latter have been Sir Denys Bray and Sir Alexander Muddiman. Responsibility is alleged to have one particular effect on all intellects. We submit another proposition for consideration, that it is all a case of "Responsive Co-operation." It depends on the "subject," what should be the effect of office or responsibility. General Dyer was endowed with "responsibility" or, he thought he was, and went straightaway to create a moral effect with his musketry. Sir Machael Odwyer had responsibility and nursed in his breast his desire of bringing home to the agitators of Punjab the joys of war and at the end of his career discharged his duty. You cannot' therefore, say that responsibility necessarily modifies the mentality of the person endowed with it. It may be admitted that it has been found to modify "good" men : but now we have Lord Irwin of Kirby

Underdale. Mr. Baldwin appears willing to be reported as "also ran."

Lord Birkenhead was Attorney - General when the famous Declaration of 1917 was made in the Parliament and Lord Chancellor when it was incorporated in the Government of India Act 1919. None else connected with the present Indian "Rule" occupied a high official position then and Mr. Baldwin was hardly heard of in those days. And he could not be, because in the opinion of Mr. masterman, ex. M. P., "How would not have been included in the estimate of any odd hundred who also ran." For all we know, he may have been playing "Give peace in our time, O Lord." Bernard Shaw has not been more wickedly played with by the Lord than Mr. Baldwin. The author, who wanted to be scofted at, is receiving blessings and plaudits and even canonisation : the man who wanted peace and prayer is having Emergencies and Strikers. Perhaps even this is a wicked trick of the Lord, viz. two good men quit unacquainted with Indian affairs in general and with the famous declaration of 1917 in particular, should now be called upon to deal with them re responsibly and authoritatively.

It may bé worth while both these good men knowing that outside the cent per cent. Liberals no school of Indian political thought accepted that declaration with all its reservations except the "Justice" party of Madras. What is the reception which the organ of that party the "Justice" gives to Mr. Baldwin's threats or, if you will not relish this word, warnings ? In its leading article on 11-11-26 the Armistice Day, our contemporary observes : -

"However, now the Government have not even the excuse furnished by the existence of the non-co-operators to plead in mitigation of their unbending attitude reaction and hostility to Indian aspirations. And it is possibly on account of that they have now begun to speak of 'true and lasting harmony' among the 'discordant' elements of India as a condition precedent to any further political advance

! However that be in so far as these dissensions have existed for all time in India and such dissensions are by no means rare even in the case of the world, they cannot be exploited as an argument for sitting matters drift in the present unsatisfactory fashion. Mr. Baldwin may rest assured, therefore, that if by his reference to internal dissensions in India he merely expressed the disquienting concern and anxiety which all of us alike feel in regard to them, India will offer him her sincere thanks and hail him as a sincere wellwisher ; but, if on the other hand, his intention is simply to use these dissensions as a peg on which to hang a policy of cantankerous inaction, he may take it that he has wholly misjudged the temper of our people at present, for they will be satisfied with nothing short of a thorough overhaul of the Reforms machinery and its modification in accordance with their desires as early as possible."

In an earlier part of the same, "Justice" observes : "What we would like Mr.Baldwin and others of his was of thinking to remember is that the Royal Commission would have no alternative but to recommend a further step in advance if the British Government are really in earnest about their pledges and promises to India."

We have quote these excerpts at length, because they come from the mouthpiece of the party which has been implicitly believing in the bona fides of the British Government, has unconditionally cooperated for making the Reforms a success and has wholeheartedly accepted the policy of "progressive" realisation of responsible Government. The Nationalists are, of course, not satisfied with the action or utterance of "Baldwin and gentry." But when "Justice" throws out these warnings, let them take note of these betimes.

Arguing in a circle is a very attractive game and British statesmen are 'complete' adepts at it. They would put the cart before the horse and then swear 'you cannot run cart unless the horse is before the cart.' They would utilise the largest slice of the public revenue for the military with the resultant starvation of education, and then, like the surprised

Brahmin, would say 'you cannot expect political advancement without education of the people in general.' They would favour one community against the other and get them to put forward insatiable demands, and then would say that the Royal Commission would not be "Justified in recommending a further step" if they "find an India distracted by internal dissension." The inherent goodness of a Baldwin may mildly and for a moment assert itself by recognising the "difficulty of the task" to be only smothered in the clerical kiss that the difficulty "will immeasurable increase the merit of the achievement," because even he does not say that "the difficulty of the task is so immense that no reasonable Royal Commission can expect a complete harmony established as a fact an should be satisfied if sincere attempts have been made."

The fact plainly put is that the Indian bureaucracy, represented more correctly by Sir Michael aucarcy, represented more correctly by Sir Michael Odwyer than by Lord Irwin, has always worked for perpertuating these communal dissensions and has always shown pro-Moslem bias. There may be howling at this suggestion as there has been during the last five or six months. The Britisher with his complacent faith in his own honestly may feel shocked. But this fact can be proved to any impatial observer. Opening the Indian debate at the Union of Democration Control Summer School at Jordans Beaconsfield, Lord Olivier reiterated his opinion regarding the existence of official basis towards Moslems and Mr. Baldwin cannot have been ignorant of that. And who is Lord Olivier ? He is not an irresponsible democrat responsible democrat but a responsible bureancrat himself. He received a certificate, from Lord Birkenhead after four months of the latter holding the Indian unworthy trustees of the British Empire. " But for Lord Olivier's pronouncement the complaint of Hindu Nationalists would have been open to the castigation of being irresponsible and would have even failed to reach the ears of men like Mr. Baldwir, Mr. Pathwick Lawrence M.P. has told us how

ignorant of the facts about India are most of the members of Parliament. And who are those M.P.s or non M.P.s who educate the British people ingeneral ? Let Lord Olivier answer : -

"I have made it my business to come into contact with literally thousands of Indians and others having an exhaustive knowledge of India and this has made me see that Indian matters are simply not understood in this country, but they are treated in an absolutely false manner. Civil Servants and financially interested people are responsible for this. We have amongst us no body of persons otherwise directly interested in Indian matters to the extent of making Parliament see Indian affairs in their correct light." Mr. Baldwin and others of his way of thinking simply see things as they are shown by the "Civil servants and financially interested people." Lord Irwin claimed the other day to have seen the Frontier Problem from a different angle of vision from the one which was customary with Viceroys. Lord Olivier can claim to have seen the Indian problem from an angle of vision different from the one which his Ministers are accustomed to. Will Mr. Baldwin attempt to see accustomed to. Will Mr. Baldwin attempt to see himself and also ask Lord Birkenhead to see from that angle of vision ?

From that angle of vision alone can either of these highest mentors of His Majesty see the truth. This pro-Moslem bias in British officialism of India is writ large on the whole scene : we challenge any impartial observer to come an see. It has become axiomatic with them and with the European journals of India. Commenting on the second letter of Lord Olivier published in the "Most people would prefer Lord Minto's idea of justice to Lord Olivier's." This mentality demonstrates how completely they are inoculated with the pro-Moslem vaccine ; indeed they are not even conscious of it. They think that maintaining it twice over should make it proof against question. Even in his speech to Lords, Birkenhead, the eminent lawyer that he is reputed

to be said of Lord Minto's promise that it was "a promise or admission not to be disputed because it is indisputable " - even "F.E. cannot conceive of a more brazen piece of tautology. But the pertinent fact is that the ex-Lord Chancellor thought such tautology sufficient to reduce the other party's argument to smithereens in the eyes of his audience. This is possible only because the British public has been educated only by "The Civil Servants and financially interested people" who, consciously or unconsciously, are steeped in the pro-Moslem tendency. It is not only Lord Olivier who has marked it. Sir Valentine Chirol is neither an admirer of Indian Nationalism nor at all friendly to Hindu aspirations. Referring to the Khilafat agitation in one of his 'Asiatic' works, the learned Knight says : -

"The agitation was at first largely artificial, but it sufficed to spread alarm amongst the advisers of the Government of India, with some of whom the obsolescent tradition still survived that the British Raj should rely on the loyalty of Indian Mahomedans who knew how to fight as a counterweight to the Congress seditionmongers mostly Hindus who knew only how to talk."

Coming from Sir Valentine, who has been proved to have had access to the esoteric circle of the officialism in India during the regime of Lord Minto, these words have a special significance and should, in the eyes of any impartial observer, be sufficient "to prove to the hilt", as they say, the proposition of Lord Oliver.

Any amount of evidence can be adduced to prove this pro-moslem bias if Lord Birkenhead or Mr. Baldwin has the courage to face an inquiry by a court composed of Christian judges who are neither French nor British. Men like Lord Minto do things honestly and openly. Men like Sir Mechael O'dwyer do them offencively and openly. Even now that redoubtable Ulsterite Knight has not give up his game. He is trying to enfold the Indian Musalmans within his sheet. He is emphasizing the oneness of the interests of the British and the Musalmans of India. We know that

in his eyes the only crime unpardonable in Hindus. We know how he recommended a Musalman convicted of a moral offence to be put on the Press Deputation and actually got his hands shaken by His Majesty. (We should not be surprised to learn that the officiating predecessor of Mr. J.N.G. Johnson in Delhi was a selection of Sir Macheal). He lost his balance at the sight of Hindu - Muslim concordat and decided to teach his favourites an unforgettable lesson his opportunity in 1919 and used it to his heart's content. Now, of course, he is all joy and is again giving vent to his pent up love for them and it trumpeting the oneness of the British and Muslim interests in India.

Such evidence is, however, supplied only by very honest or very arrogant persons. The large bulk do things more carefully, you will have the demonstration. Let there be any communal trouble and reports be asked from European officials in India or let these officials be asked their opinion or be approached for relief : You will have any amount of evidence of this tendency. The threat of Musalmans - even few in number - to commit violence is welcomed, admired, even sought. If there be a boycott or even suspension of business by Hindus, all powers and influence would be used to end it and Hindus would be condemnedas cads, aggressors etc. If it be the other way and Hindus go to ask for official interference, they would be told to make terms with the Musalmans as "we cannot interfere" and Musalmans would be acclaimed as heroes and satyagrhis. Every report of a British officer on a communal affair will supply evidence of this tendency, whether it be in favour of Musalmans or be truthful. The pro-Moslem officer is frank and bold.: the conscientious officer is apologetic if merits are in favour of Hindus and against Musalmans. In taking action against publicists, this bias is most marked : e.g., in Calcutta while as many as ten Hindu editors have been hauled up under sec. 153A, only three Muslim editors have been so honoured in spite of the fact that in the whole of East Bengal the sufferers in the recent communal

disturbances have been mainly Hindus. The case of "Muslim Standard," comes uppermost to our mind. Any Hindu paper, publishing the news referred to by the Press communique in that manner and, even after failure to supply particulars to a solicitous Government, recanting in the manner of the "Muslim Standard, " would by now have been in a court if not in a jail. It is use multiplying instances at this place.

Our purpose in writing all this is not to lower the Government of India in public estimation. And we should not have wasted our paper, ink and labour in indition all this. But when Mr. Baldwin puts on the shoulders of the Nationalists the duty of removing an evil principally of creation of his subordinates who are all the while to be allowed to have full liberty to play their game, it becomes our duty to show the impossibility of his demand. We are most unwillingly performing it. Even this we are doing because we think both Mr. Baldwin and Lord Irwin to be 'good' men - rather amenable to education.

So long as the British officialism do not give up weighting the balance on the side of Moslems, there is no chance of a "true and lasting harmony" among the 'discordant' elements of India. Lord Birkenhead solemnly said that "there could be no real improvement unless and until members of the two great communities realised that they must after all live in India side by side." Let him know that it is the dominant minority of British officialism that is preventing this realisation. It is this class of "Civil servant and financially interested people" who are egging the Musalmans to claim a disproportionate price for living 'side' with Hindus. That some leaders of Musalmans are asking for such price is capable of being proved even with the testimony of a devout Muslim leader. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said only very recently :

"It was the bitterest thing for me to here that some Musalmans laid down condition be fore they could join the Hindus in freedom's battle. It was the blackest spot on their forehead."

It is the artificial capacity of the Muslim Leaders, supplied by the "Civil servants" to dictate terms to Hindus for living side by side with them that is coming in the way of the realisation desired by Lord Birkenhead. The noble Earl also asked "Indians in high position" to "make some real efforts to cooperate with the earnest attempts of the Government to relieve and diminish actual communal tension." Lord Irwin's earnestness is not in question ; but beyond his very promising speech at Simla in the Chelmsford Glub attempts for his Government are nowhere apparent except in the statement of Earl Winterton to the Commons. Let us respectfully point out to both Mr. Baldwin and Lord Irwin that if they want concord between Hindus and Musalman to be really established, they must make earnest efforts, in the first instance, to isolate and paralyse the baneful activity of the "Civil servants and financially interested people."

Editorial Observations

Guru Nanak Dev

As if to remind us of our duty to offer our humble tribute to the memory of the great Founder of Sikhism on his birthday which falls on 19th instant, our contemporary the "Punjab" had sent to us its special Narankari Number in advance. We perform our humble duty to him who gave new life to the distracted if not dead people of Punjab. Sikhism is a virile Faith and the Akali Sikhs are the standing emblems thereof Our hearties greetings to our Sikh brethren go with our humblest obeisance to Guru Nanak Devji.

Stroms

There have been some Storms of great violence, of recent, in the physical atmosphere too. Take for example the award of Novel Prize to Bernard Shaw, of whom a great journalist said "getting seventy is the only ordinary thing Shaw has done,' For all his oddities and white

enormities, he has ceased to disturb England and is on his way to canonisation as Mr. Gardiner once pointed out. But the English Government represented by "Jix" decided to "dam" Shaw and refused to allow his speech to be broadcast on his seventy-first birthday. After that damnation by the might John Bull, it is surely a storm to the quiescent brains of the happy muddlers that Shaw should be awarded the Novel Prize for Literature. Compared to this the award of D.C.L. to "Jim Thomas" is a "Storm in the teacup." And the award of some title to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald by a part of the Islamic world - is it not the stormiest storm?

What does he mean ?

In Bombay Mr. Shamdasani has stormed the citadel of financial bosses even as successfully as Mr. Rangbehari Lal did in Delhi the citadel of political bosses. And curiously enough the same journal in north India is loud in condemning both. Are Tatas such great friends of that journal as the Swaraj party ? Let is beware lest unsophisticated persons interrogate as to the connection of the Swaraj Party and Tatas. Perhaps it is simply the case of priests objecting to a layman succeeding in approaching God in defiance of them. We remember Mr. Brailsford once referred to the "labour bureaucrat" in the socialist regime. Is it that a journalist, who thinks it to be only his business to attack "Big Business", must ask of a " mere shareholder" who happens to challenge that monopoly, "What does he mean ? We warn our readers against suspecting any psychological relation between these 'democratic' journalist and Mr. Brailsford's "labour" bureaucrats. After all a mere taxpayer who must pay taxes, enrol himself as a voter, purchase a particular candidate. He does not understand any thing beyond that and should not try to. If even on rare occasions he attempts to break the montony of this immunity and happens to defy bossdom, down will come the imprecation "What * * does he mean? Surely he cannot refuse to accept this as fullfledged democracy !

Ghanashyamdas Birla

Speaking in the Town Hall at Benares on 10th November 1926 under the Presidentship of Babu Shiv Prasad Gupta, Pandit Motilal said about Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla : -

"I have great respect for Birla ji. He has rendered great services to the country and spent large amount of money for public causes. We cannot adequately honour him.. Birlaji was willing to stand from Fyzabad but Malaviyaji didn't allow... I have heard he said that I agreed to Birlaji's candidature from Fyzabad only when Sj. Rananjaya Sinha left the Swaraj party and joined and joined Malaviyaji. This is untrue. None of my party was standing then from there. If any had been there, I could have withdrawn him..... I can give place to Birlaji even now if he so wants."

This quotation has been taken from the "Indian Daily Telegraph" of 12th instant (Dak edition of 13th instant) but for the italics which are ours. There cannot be any chance for Pandit Motilal's speech being incorrectly reported in that journal. Seth Birla's merits being so clearly accepted, we do not quarrel with Panditji for opposing his candidature from party point of view. We wish and trust that he will not insist on our taking the entirely identical view.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY

No sooner had the prolonged applause of the audience died down (following the address by Professor Dewey) than a Hindu philosopher, Professor S. Radhakrishnan of the University of Calcutta, tall, dark-skinned and slender, with Oriental tunic and turban, continued in even more vigorous terms the criticism of a "fact-ridden" world. Speaking perfect English without manuscript, Professor Radhakrishnan went through all the institutions of morden man, from the family to international relations, and scathingly denounced them for their dependence on science without reflection.

Now making the capacious audience roar with laughter

at a witty reference to the instability of a marriage in the Western world, and then holding it so silently attentive that the checking of a chair sounded large, Professor Radhakrishnan called upon people everywhere to develop the capacity to draw aside from the whirl of events, periodically and discover what they mean.

Expressing pleasure at having heard Professor Dewey, who, he said, looms in the Orient as an important philosopher, the Hindu declared that "the scientific invasion is universal." He said that it has penetrated India and is upsetting traditions and standards without having formulated any to take their place.

Making the audience chukle at his sarcastic reference to "philosophy as a discussion of essences and sensations" and as The doctrine of subsistence and essence in current logic and epistemology." thereby paraphrasing or repeating the verities listed in the programme for discussion by various divisions of the Congress, Prof. Radhakrishnan started with emphasis that "it is not that kind of philosophy the world needs."

Some in the audience were plainly dumbfounded at this casting of satirical darts at the nomenclature and classification used by Western Philosophers. Professor Radhakrishnan seemed to delight in it. Obviously extemporizing as he went a long but with a quick and profound facility, that brought expressions of amazement from members of the audience, he reacted instantly to the mood of the audience, and with his hands stuck under his tunic across his stomach, he leaned toward the upturned faces and gave them one flashing criticism after another.

With intense favour in his strong voice, he insisted that "What the world need" is a philosophy that will embrace a whole spiritual outlook for all the people of the world. The attitude of 'my religion is right, not yours my race is greatest, not yours; my nation is the greatest, not yours' must be relinquished" he declared.

With the utmost simplicity, he described the Hindu

principle of the oneness and the wholeness of the universe, and the Hindu practice of periodic retirement from the seething world, so that the mind can reflect upon life, looking at it from the outside, and can establish a personal spiritual poise and strength. Urging the Hindu philosophy as a solution for the pressing problems of to-day, he concluded "the fulfilment of that philosophy requires great discipline and self - sacrifice."

Even greater applause than followed Professor Dewey's address greeted Professor Radhakrishnan. He half rose from his chair two or three times to acknowledge it. After the meeting, there was a buzz of admiring comment about him.

Professor Radhakrishnan has been visiting almost all the universities in the Eastern States, including Harward, Columbia, Cornel, Philadelphia, Yale, Prancetse in addition to the women's colleges and theological seminaries. He leaves New York on the 19th October. - Boston Globe.

Prof. Radhakrishnan returned to India on 12th instant, and said to a representative of the "Bombay Chronicle":

"We are actually broken down so far as politics is concerned, and if in addition we lose our national pride and selfrespect, there is no hope for us. Our present educational system actually envelopes what may be called 'inferiority complex.' It we lose our wealth and diamond we can get it back ; but if we lose our soul we are finished. The dead can't rise but the poor can.... I do not mean that it should mean interference with India's grasping modern learning and culture ; for any culture could be accepted with fruitful results. But we should both be blown off our feet."

A Temple for all Hindus

As recently announced in the Ganpati celebrations, the Matunga Hindu Sabha Bombay want to undertake the construction of a Temple with a well-equipped Gymnasium for the use of Hindus irrespective of caste and touchability. It is hardly necessary to describe the advantages of such

an institution to Hindu Society in their task of reorganizing itself. Besides being a common place of worship for all, this can be utilized as a central place for all the other activities of the Hindu Sabha. In the North of the City, there is not a single common public hall, where more than 500 people can be accommodated. The Sabha Mandap of the Temple as will be seen from the scheme, will he a suitable place for all functions carried on by the Hindu Sabha. It will also be a resting place for all destitute people for a few days till they are looked after and given a decent way of maintenance by the officials of the Sabha. One more important use to which the hall will be permanently put, is the holding of a free night school for adults among the backward and depressed classes.

2. It is proposed to secure a plot of land from the Bombay Improvement Trust measuring roughly 2000 Sq. Yds. in the north of the city A temple on the plot with the Sabha Mandap, Gymnasium, Library Room, and Superintendent's quarters, is estimated to cost Rs. 25000. The Mandap will at lest accommodate 1000 persons at a time. The running expenses for the whole scheme including the lease rent and the Municipal taxes, and Superintendent's charge will approximately be Rs. 2000 per year.

3. The management of the Scheme will be in the hands of a Board of Trustees appointed as follows : -

(A) President of Bombay Provincial Hindu Sabha.

(B) 2 Members elected by the Managing Committee of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

(C) 2 Member elected by donors who pay more than Rs. 25 as donation.

(D) 3 Members elected by the Managing Committee of Hindu Sabha Matunga Branch.

M.R. Jayakar, Velji Lakhamsi, Bhagwanatro Paralkar, S.K. Bole, Jivraj G.Nensey, R.A. Parulekar, G.L. Khot, K. Vithalrao, D.K. Mathure, M.B. Udgaonkar and many other have signed this proposal.

Voice from Afghanistan

An Afghan Journal called 'Ittihadi Musraqui' published at Jallalabad has written an article on "The cry for Unity" a part of which as published in the "Englishmen " is quoted here :

"Jealousy and ignores do not allow the Hindus and Musalman to become firm Indians. "Imaginary fears have possessed the Hindus and they are dragging their brethren, the Moslems, by the neck ; the various Sangathan, Arya Samaj, Akali and other association instead of cultivating unity are awaking at its very roots. On the other hand the Indian Moslems excite their country brethren with problems like music before mosques and the slaughter of cows, or by writing immoderate articles and pamphlets. Leaving this aside the sectarian differences among the Moslems themselves engage their attention to such an extent that they cannot look to their chief aim. This heartrending calamity which has befallen the Islamic world in general and our Indian brothers in particular has paralysed their nerves of freedom. When we Afghans study the accounts of communal dissensions in their Indian newspapers or heartaches increase. We can do nothing but shed warning tears on Hindu - Moslem unity and weep at the perverse fortune of the East. "O Indian Moslems ! Why have your pretensions to unity become null and void ? Cannot you set aside the misunderstandings between you and embrace the Hindus? The Afghan Government accords to the Hindus affectionate treatment in its dominion, following the commandments contained in the Koran and in view of the neighbourly and geographical considerations." - "Englishman."

Horniman on Communities

Addressing a meeting of Parsis in the Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Bombay, Mr. B. G. Horniman said :

"In all democratic countries where minority communities have had to suffer on account of their connubial customs

and various other reasons, it has always been the bases that, the moment democracy is achieved in which there is politically no recognition of any single communities have had to suffer on account of their communal customs and various other reasons, it has always been the case that, the moment democracy is achieved in which there is politically no recognition of any single community as such, you find all disabilities disappear and the general civic matters are matters of common enjoyment and people live side by side and struggle side by side, striving for the common good of the nation."

[The Liberators, 18 November, 1926]

The Ordeals Aryasamaj Had To Pass Through

II
A HISTORICAL DOCUMENT
CHAPTER I

The Aryasamaj is a Protestant and reforming movement within the Hindu Church, with originated in 1869 although the first Samaj did not come into existence until 1875. The religion, such as it is, is mono-theistic and professes to be a reversion to the pure religion observed by the early Aryan people, at a time when the country was in a state of prosperity long since forgotten and when the people were blessed with the direct divine revelation to their sages in the shape of the Vedas.

In order to appreciate the relation the Arya Samaj bears to Hindu religion up to the evolution of the Aryasamaj itself, which were those of Vedism, Brahmanis, Hinduism and Hindu-Theism.

[All the succeeding ideas and chronology are based on writings of Western scholars whose theories have since been successfully controverted by more recent Western scholars. As regards time, the assertions are ante-diluvian. - Editor]

The earliest form of the religion of the Indian branch of the Great Aryan family, which settled down in the Punjab in about the 15th Century B.C., was Vedism and it was

represented in the songs, invocations and prayers collectively called the Vedas, attributed to the Rishis or supposed inspired leaders of religious thought and life among the people. It was in essence nature-worship and originally the phenomena, as they presented themselves to the Aryan immigrants, were individualised and invoked as deities by means of prayers and hymns. It was only occasionally that the idea of one God was conceived and referred to in the Veda. The hymns and prayers composing the Vedas were the work of many hands and were written at various times during the first few hundred years of their actual residence in India in the period between the 15 and 16th century before Christ. Hindu tradition has it that the Veda (divine knowledge) were the result of direct revaluation to the Rishis and not the composition of the latter ; there are however, frequent references in the hymns to their actual composition.

The earliest is that known in the Rig-Veda (hymn Veda) which is a collection of 1017 hymns. This is described by the late Prof. Sir Monier Williams as the first Bible of the Hindu religion. There are two other collection of hymns known as the Sacrificial Veda and the Chant Veda which are of later date than the Rigweda and rank ofter it in importance. There was a later collection to these, known as the Atharva Veda dealing chiefly with charms and spells.

All these books or writings go to show that the early religion of India-Aryan was a development of a still earlier belief of man's subjection to the powers of nature and of the need for conciliating them. This was particularly marked by the large part that oblations and sacrifices take in the ceremonial as shown in the Vedas.

The doctrine of transmigration of soul has no place in the Vedas; the hymns give no sanction for the custom of early marriage, to the prohibition of widow marriage, to the castesystem, to the interdiction of foreign travel and to the practice of idolatry. The Vedas permit animal sacrifice and did not forbid even the eating of cowflesh. Worship was performed by sacrifice, invocation, prayers, praise and

meditation. The Vedas were full of feeling after one Supreme Being, if happily He might be found in sky or air and they recognised an Atman (Spirit) mysterious allpervading power and Presence. It was given a name Brahma, but this was the neuter form, was impersonal and is not to be confounded with Brahma, the personal Creator, who is not actually recognised as such until the period of Brahmanism.

Brahmanim, which was a development of Vedism, is said to have extended from the 8th Century before Christ to about the 12th Century after Christ. It originated in the need for givin form to the conception of the Vedic Atman (Brahman) and for regarding men and gods as manifestations of that Spirit.

The need for propitiation, nutrition and invocation of the Gods, and of giving thank-offerings was so much insisted on, and the ritual and circumstances attending the sacrifice prescribed in the Vedas so complicated that it called into existence the sacerdotal caste, who only could perform the requirement of the Vedas for the people.

The Brahmanical period is marked by scriptures known as the Brahmans which were prose compositions laying down still more elaborate procedure for the Brahman in conducting sacrifice. After a period of surfeit of sacrificial ceremony, Brahmanism was marked by a period of philosophical discussions which resulted in the production of the Upanishadas. It may be noted that these scriptures as well as the Brahmanas form part of the Vedas of the orthodox Hindus. It would seem as if philosophic period threatened to prove too much for the Hindu people of that time. They needed something more tangible. Buddhism arose during this period in about the 5th century B.C. and for a time carried all before it. Buddha himself denied the origin of the Vedas and overthrew the authority of the Brahmins. The latter in order to requirement the hold on the people by meeting the requirements of the age, introduced the Hindus as new gods through the medium of the Mahabharat and the Ramayana, the heroes of the popular legends of

the people, and as a result, established what may be described as Hinduism. It was not until after this reaction that the Hindu caste and social system was called into existence through the three Codes of Manu, of Yajnavalkya and of Parasara which prescribed every detail of Hindu domestic ceremony and invested the Brahmin with Divine dignity. They were brought out at different times during the period between the 5th century before Christ and the 2nd century after Christ.

Shankaracharya of Kerala in Malabar, the great Brahmanical reformer of the 9th century did his best to stem the growth of idolatry, to purify the Hindu religion, to free it from sectarian ideas and to bring it back to monism. Other Hindu reformers were engaged in the same endeavour in the 12th, 13th, 15th, and 16th century, the movement in the latter century being probably due to Mahommadan influence. Kabir and Nanak both combated the degeneration of the Hindu religion of the 16th century and left their mark, the latter founding the Sikh religion.

The advent of the British domination, with the spread of Christian ideas and western education had a very potent effect on the more thoughtful of the Hindus and the solvent influence of scientific teaching and thought of the 19th century and of Christianity created a demand for something purer and more satisfying than the national religion.

Ram Mohan Rai was the reformer who, at the close of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century made a bold stand against the perversion of the national faith, particularly in the direction of idolatry. He establish a spiritual society in 1816 which may be regarded as the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj, society of believers in God. His faith was based on the monotheistic doctrine supposed to be underlying the Vedas and he was strongly influenced by Christianity. The Brahma Samaj inculcated the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The further extension of Western education Christian influence in the course of the 19th and century made the

defects of this national religion still more obvious to the thoughtful Hindus. The Young Hindu who has not had a priestly training unless he be a Brahman receives and can receive little or no religious instruction and he can repeat no brief or generally defined creed of Hinduism. Mrs. Besant, however, professes to have supplied this latter want.

The rights of the hereditary priesthood to do all the offices of worship are so firmly insisted on that he has no opportunities of performing private devotions. The most he can do is the ceremony of pouring out water in the morning in honour of the sun and the repetition of the name of Parmeshwar or of Rama in the morning and evening. The refusal of the orthodox Hindu to meet with the demands of enlightenment and of modern learning, or to recognise in anyway its correctness or influence, and the uncompromising power which he exercises by reason of his control over caste ceremonies, results in a state of irreligion which threatened to pervade the educated classes. There was the additional and very real danger of a serious defection of members of that class to Christianity, in view of the proselytising influence of that religion.

This was the state of affairs when Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Aryasamaj, came to the front and presented to the Hindu Nation a religion which he described not as a new religion, but as the religion of their Aryan ancestors in the golden Age of Aryawarta.

The aspect of the Aryasamaj as a religion is discussed in a separate chapter. In view of its closely following the Brahmo Samaj and of its being similar in its main principles, it is well to consider the reason why Dayanand did not espouse the Brahmo Samaj or the Prarthna Samaj. He expressed objection to the Brahmo Samaj, on the following grounds :-

(1) That its followers are very much wanting in partiorism, have imitated the Christians in many things and have even altered the rules and regulations governing marriages and eating and drinking with others.

(2) That they praise the Christians and Europeans and have nothing good to say of the people of Aryawarta.

(3) That they include among their holy men, Christ, Moses, Mahamad, Nanak and Chaitanya and would appear to have forsaken the religion of their forefathers in favour of foreign religion.

(4) That they eat and drink with Europeans, Muhammadans and outcast people.

In short, Dayanand's objections to the Brahmo Samaj would seem to have been that it lacked patriotism and that it was too compromising.

MUSIC BEFORE MOSQUES

Her Highness, the mother Begum of Begum of Bhopal Chancellor of the Aligarh University, in the course of her address at the fifth annual convocation held on 15-11-26, said to the Muslim students :-

"I ask you to remember that you are the sons of Islam which brought the message of peace for the world, and that every injunction of it is the source of safety in the struggle of life. Islam has taught us that toleration for non-Muslims cannot but keep them at peace with everybody in God's vast world. My dear students, you are living in a country inhabited by different creeds. Your object and outlook in life is the same as theirs. The progress of your country or its decline is the concern of you all. You are a subject people and you have duties to perform by the Government under which you are living in peace. You have, therefore, to live in unity and with tolerance with all of them and show the respect that Quran has enjoined upon you. You must sail clear of the dangerous rocks of communal prejudice and not allow yourselves to be contaminated by that poisonous atmosphere. Your education demands and your religion orders that you must live in peace and amity and carry aloft the standard of a united nation in your country. It should be your neverceasing effort to bring about harmony and concord where friction and disruption exist."

Syed Sultan Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, delivered the convocation address in the course of which he observed :-

Permit me to offer you my sincerest and heartiest congratulations on your success. You will now be leaving this institution and will be soon thrown into the outer world and will have to face complex problems in life. You have just been charged by your Vice-Chancellor to prove yourselves worthy of the trust that has been reposed in you. This embraces all that one could tell you on such an occasion. How you should prove yourselves worthy of this charge, will arise everyday in your life. Indeed speaking for myself, when I look pun the biterdness with which communal strife has been carried on in India within the last few years, any advice that I should like to give you on this occasion, will be relevant only to this questions. Please remember that there are other people in this world besides yourselves and that they have got as much right to live in it as you have. They are made of the same flesh and blood as you are;, you and they make obesisance to the same Creator. You and they may not agree on various points but this cannot justify you to despise each other as contempt implies a triumph over and pleasure in the ill of another. I would enjoin upon you in all sincerity to be true to your God and to the high tradition of your Alma Mater and to follow the dictates of your conscience. You will then be free from bigotry and will avoid every thing which may lead to exclusiveness and narrowmindedness. Do not begin to quarrel with the world too soon as after all this is the best that we have to live in. Look around and see what is being done by some of our people in India and that in the name of religion ! What a sacrilege ! It seems incredible and inconceivable that man could become a beast and that so openly, and defiantly and then turn to religion to support his action. I would beg of you that when you go out to the world you will set your face against such atrocity, mercilessly pursuing one who may be trying to divide you

from your other fellow countrymen. Put your foot down on any attempt to create bad blood between followers of different religions. Keep in mind the well-known saying of the sage of Aligarh whose spirit must be with us to-day to wish you godspeed on your new career, that the Hindus and Muhammadans of this country are like the two bright eyes of a damsel, and if you hurt the one you disfigure the other. In gratitude to him for all the good that you have received from this institution, go out to the world, and preach and practise the doctrine of love and toleration, amongst your countrymen. Aligarh more than any other University in India has created and nurtured a tradition of uprightness, independence and catholicity of thought. If falls to your lot to be the torch-bearers in the encircling gloom.

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The "Pravasi," a Bengali Magazine of Calcutta edited by Ramanand Chatterjea, understands that Lord Lytton's parting present to Bengal is to he a Bill prohibiting music before any Mosque at any hour of the day. Surely every Musalman Mosque in India must be a "Highland of Kenya" The Amir of Afghanistan, the Sultan of Morocco and the King of Egypt are not true Musalmans. The true defenders of Islam are Sir Michael Odwyer and Lord Lytton.
A London Correspondent writes :

One of the first tasks of the new Viceroy has been to come to a friendly understanding with the "Padisa" or Emperor as the Amir calls himself nowadays. It is understood that new proposals have been recently made to the Amir by the Government of India offering better trade facilities and new types of aeroplanes and tanks to help the Amir. The Amir has been offered other facilities as of Railway and transport material besides a renewal of the yearly subsidy, increased to suit modern exigencies.

We all know how slow Lord Irwin has been to take action in respect of the Nizam as well as the disloyal threats of Muslim organs like the "Muslim Outlook" of Lahore while His Excellency did not allow the Maharaja of Nabha even to a religious ceremony in Punjab nor was the Maharaja allowed to stand as a candidate for a British Indian Legislative Chamber.

Referring to the charge made against him regarding his action in disallowing Mr. Sangam Lal's resolution regarding the inquiry into the custom about Music before Mosques, Pandit Motilal said in his speech at Benares on 10-11-26 :-

"I stopped Mr. Sangamlal, because it meant cutting our own feet. My clear opinion is that, custom or no custom, Music can always be played before Mosques. No authority prevents this except the police only when disturbances are apprehended. Though seriously ill in Mussorie, I replied to the Allahabad Ramlila Committee's wire that I was willing to give serious advice if five thousand men were willing to give serious advice if five thousand men were willing to offer Satyagraha and to suffer every thing including bullets peacefully."

THURSDAY, 25th November, 1926
SIR LALLUBHAI SHAH

Today is the tenth day from the death of Sir Lallubhai Asharam Shah of Bombay and we offer our tribute and solemn oblation. Devotee of Saraswati as he was, tribute in words and ink instead of water are appropriate in relation to him. On 16th instant passed away this rare man. It is a great luck even according to our Sastras to die on the battlefield. To die in active service is a lot prized by everybody but shared by the exceptional. One of the best compliments we give to the industry of anybody is that he died in harness. To work till 5-30 p.m. on Monday and to die before the High Court opens on Tuesday is, by itself, sufficient to make a man remarkable and death alone has

made the late Sir Lallubhai worth remembering. In the Bombay High Court one other man had a nearly similar death viz Mr. Inverarity, the most eminent Counsel of the Bombay Bar.

Sir Lallubhai appeared a model of health and was only fifty-three In usual course, he should have been a judge for seven years more and a Law Lord of the Judicial Committee for as many years thereafter as he could have kept fit. If one might speculate about the 'might have been', Sir Lallubhai mught have presided over the first Bench of the Supreme Court for India. He was born in 1873 even in the same year as the greatest legal luminary of England, Sir John Simon, Lokamanya Tilak's Counsel in the Chirol case and the counsel for the Martial Law Prisoners in 1919. It is an irony of fate that while the latter is collecting cartloads of Goldsovereigns, the former has been collected by the God of Death. Though not comparable in eloquence, the two had the same mastery of law, cheerfulness of disposition, confidence of advocacy, knowledge of cases and confidence of advocacy, knowledge of cases and unconsciousness of eminence. Manner being even more important in this world at least in the beginning, Sir Lallubhai was not very much known all over India as he could not turn out brilliant phrases in English. Judgments, which Sir Lawrence Jenkins should envy, have been delivered by him and may be appreciated in the legal circles. But the picturesque phraseology, in which Sir Lawrence clothed the results of what he called "prosaic" inquiries and made his Judgments known to all sorts of readers and lawyers, was not of Sir Lallubhai. The merit which was not appreciated during his lifetime may come to receive its due recognition now that it is no more restricted to a physical body.

Sir Lallubhai was one of the two judges who, even like Sir Lawrence, gave Justice to Lokamanya Tilak in 1916. The District Magistrate of Poona called on Lokamanya to enter into a personal recognisance for rupees twenty thousand and to give to sureties in the sum of rupees ten

thousand each, the total being forty thousand rupees. The notice of the Magistrate calling on Lokamanya to show cause was a Jubilee present. On the case being taken to the High Court, not only was the order of the Magistrate cancelled but the demand for Swaraj was held to be quite constitutional. There was later a Press Act case heard in the High Court of Bombay, in the conclusion of which Sir Norman Macleod attempted to upset this judgment by laying down that Swaraj meant independence and as such was unconstitutional. Coming after him, Sir Lallubhai expressed that Swaraj as spoken of by Indian politicians meant "Self-Government within the Empire." These two cases show at once his independence and promptness. Two rules for contempt issued against the "Bombay Chronicle " were heard by him : in one he let off the editor with a warning and i the other fined him only two hundred rupees. Sir Lallubhai differed from Sir John Heaton in two important cases one dealing with the evidently value of an accused's confession inculpating a coaccused and the other with the privilege attaching to a complaint made by an aggrieved person against a subordinate officer to his superior. The former arose very shortly after Sir Lallubhai was raised to the Bench. In both cases the aid of a third judge was called and in both Sir Lallubhai's view prevailed and the vitiation of the ordinary judicial atmosphere by political prejudice was stopped. In appeals dealing with Hindu Law, Sir Lallubhai was asked to deliver judgments and senior judges were content to add "I agree" or "I concur."

It was with a heavy handicap that Sir Lallubhai went to the Bench. People expected Sir Chimanlal Setalwad to be made a High Court Judge and suspected that his political and public activities came in his way. Lallubhai Shah got the appointment, without having ever officiated even for a week or without having been even a permanent Government Pleader, simply because he was, said the people with justification, a "dark horse." We say "with justification" because Lord Sydenham was Governor of Bomday when

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar resigned his office and Lallubhai was only "forty." People in general, had something like vailed contempt for anybody who appeared to have the favour of Lord Sydenham. This was only a art and a minor part of his heavy handicap. It was a great disadvantage to succeed a line of three such judges as Telang, Ranade and Chandavarkar. Ranade had a very great name even though his activities were circumscribed by Government his activities were circumscribed by Government service. Telang and Chandavarkar had presided over the Indian National Congress before being asked to preside at the Bombay High Court. Chandavarkar had made a name as a speaker even in England and Telang had broken the lance on the scholastic field with great European savants. For an obscure pleader of forty, it was a very heavy handicap to succeed this line of distinguished judges. This handicap enhances the merit of his achievement. And it need be no paradox to say that his very weakness (socalled or real) proved his strength. Not confident of a mastery of English words, he used to write very condensed judgments. Having never had to give expression to pro-reform views, he was free to give judicial effect to his opinions in favour of progress of Hindu Society, as publicists could not complain that he had a madeup mind. Nay his judgments rarely caught the eye of publicists as generally understood. This does not mean that he misinterpreted the scriptural texts. What is meant is that be boldly interpreted them as, for example, in the case of Anuloma marriage. It is surely a monument which will perpetuate his memory, - the decision in which Sir Lallubhai held that it was quite legal according to Hindu Law for a man of a higher caste to marry a woman of a lower caste. We have no hesitation to say that he would have helped the Depressed Classes to regain some of the cherished rights which have been lost to them by virtue of custom or the superior strength of the higher classes.

It is a fact that Sir Lallubhai officiated as the Chief Justice of Bombay High Court oftener than is usual and

was superseded by his next junior. It is a calumny to his soul and a disgrace to his selfrespect to say that he took the supersession to heart. It is no credit to feel the supersession and to stick to the job. It really he felt it, he ought to have resigned. Even from the "pension" point of view he was in a position to resign as he had already put in more than eleven years and six months. If he had resigned probably he would have been on the Judicial Committee before that Mediocrity of Calcutta, Sir Launcelot Sanderson. The fact - and the more graceful thing to say -is that having seen that Sir John Heaton was superseded before his own eyes by Sir Norman Macleod, he was satisfied that the supersession was not racial and submitted cheerfully to a legal provision of an Act of Parliament out of that respect for law, which he was there to enforce. There legal provision is surely arbitary. If a pleader can, now, be a Law Lord of the Privy Council, he can certainly be a permanent Chief Justice of a High Court. Galling as this provision occasionally appears owing to the extraneous circumstance of all pleaders being Indians, let our publicists consider twice before getting it repealed. This provision has, in fact, worked much oftener against Civilian judges than against pleader Judges, and nobody will be more pleased to see it repealed than they. It is the people who cannot look with unmixed joy on the prospect of members of the Civil Service becoming permanent Chief Justices.

Sir Lallubhai took very great interest in the progress of female education. He was actively connected with two Societies in Bombay which are running two (English) High Schools for girls. He was Vice - Chancellor of the Indian Women's University and in that sphere also be repeated his performance at the High Court. Though sir Mahadev Chaugal is Chancellor of that University it may not be wrong to suggest that he presided over more meetings of the Senate of that University than Sir Mahadev. When Sir Leslie Wilson visited the University a few weeks ago, he expressed great solicitude and promised a very favourable consideration of

its request for recognition. We should not be surprised to know that Sir Lallubhai was substantially instrumental in putting Sir Leslie into that frame of mind. Sir Lallubhai was President of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, whose main interest is to help Hindu widows.

We have it in a sanskrit verse that a man equally helpful both to the ruler and to the subjects is rare. If a list of these rare persons be ever made, Sir Lallubhai must find a place in it. His capacity to maintain his independence and, at the same time, to command the good graces of the present sort of Government in India was simply wonderful. It can only be understood in relation to the fact that he did not draw a single day's salary without doing his bit of service to the people. If "genius" were defined as Carlyle chose to define it, viz. "an unlimited capacity for taking pains, " Sir Lallubhai was, beyond doubt, gifted with genius. This definition is however, one of those incidents which show that the man in the field does not necessarily name the show correctly. All of us, nowadays, associate dynamic qualities with genius and Sir Lallubhai was too serene to be dynamic. Humanity is poorer, India is poorer and undoubtedly the Bombay Presidency is materially poorer for the death of this great and good man.

Editorial Observations

Anglo-Swedish Intercourse

Canonisation unstings a man, it appears, Bernard Shaw received the Noble Prize but declined the large amount of money (more than a lak of rupees) going with it and requested that it be utilised to improve the Anglo-Swedish intercourse in art and literature. Ibsen belongs to Sweden and can claim Shaw amongst his ardent admires. The Society in charge of the Nobel Prize refused to do anything of the kind and intimated that rejection would involve "escheat" of the amount. Now Shaw has suffered the first defeat and has accepted the money conditionally - in other words, as

a trustee for devolving it in a proper way to a committee who should take the best steps to effect the improvement desiderated by him. This amount may prove a nucleus for a large fund because. Saya the adage well begun is half done. This act of George Bernard Shaw, whose conduct has hitherto been "uniform, continuous and consistent," puts him down as a " Responsive Co-operator," and a mischievous voice whispers into our ears that Shaw and Tilak were both born in 1856.

Kalpathy Car Festival

The Annual Kalpathi (Palghat) Car Festival began on 7th and extended upto 15th inst. On Sunday 14th instant the Ezhava Members of the local Arya Samaj led by Brahmachari Vedabandhu went round the Kalpathi streets in broad daylight. This fact created a great consternation among the (friends of Mr. M.K. Acharya Swarajist) Brahmins who at once asked the aid of the Police. Unfortunately for the Brahmins, the Police - probably owing to the sympathetic attitude of Viscount Goschen or in virtue of the Bill of Mr. Veerian - were not particularly sympathetic to the obscurantists who would be worth followers of Lord Delamere of Kenya Highlands. So far no untoward incident is reported and we pray to Almighty that the forces of the Devil, for whom the Majority of Madrasi Brahmins at present stand, be routed !

Dinbandhu

We offer our heartiest congratulations to Swami Ramanand and cordially welcome the "Dinbandhu," of which he is editor and the first issue was published on the announced date viz. 15th instant. The "Dinbandhu" is published at Khurja (U.P.) and its annual subscription is Rs. 3. It is a weekly journal devoted to the uplift of the Depressed Classes, Local Selfgovernment, Rural Reconstruction, Agriculture and Social reform. Swami Ramanand is a tried worker. He worked for the Indian National Congress in

the psychological years and, after he returned to the people and found constructive work left undone, devoted himself to the uplift of the socalled untouchable communities, which is an important item in Mahatma Gandhi's constructive Programme adopted by the Indian National Congress at Bardoli. Swami Ramanand's knowledge of the conditions, in which these classes live, is more than ordinary. He has been Secretary of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha Delhi, for nearly five years. With such a distinguished editor, we have no doubt the "Dinbandhu" has a very bright and useful career before it. We give it our prayers and best wishes.

The Depressed Classes, Liquor and Mission

Mr. S.N. Mallik, member of the India Council, has a few bitter truths to tell about the importation of foreign liquor in to India at the meeting of the East Indian Association. He said : "You pat yourselves on the back and think you have uplifted India in a moral sense when you took a way the opium trade. You do not think of the millions of tons of liquor which you import into my country every year, forcing it up even into the smallest villages and causing more harm than opium ever did. WE have ceased to believe that England was moved by any moral purpose when she took the opium trade away."

The 'Christian' commenting upon this stated :

"Through Mr. Mallik hardly seemed to make allowance for those many British people who share his indignation in connection with the drink traffic, there is a little room to doubt that the prestige of our nation is being seriously lowered in The East by the steady growth of this traffic. Do we not appear as The country which sends missionaries to convert the people, and drink agents to ruin them?"

In this connection the following may be on opposite appendix.

"The Social disabilities of the Depressed Classes of Malabar are wellknown. Taking advantage of this, Missionaries of Mohammedanism and Christianity have been

trying for the last two years to convert these downtrodden people to their respective faiths. In the beginning they had to face the counterpropaganda of the Hindu Samajists of Upper India and had to suspend their proselytising activities for a time. But now that all is quiet and their rivals have departed from the field, they have begun their work anew. The reports, that are being received here from time to time, of wholesale conversion of Hindus are indeed alarming most of these converted people are influential members of their community." - The Calicut letter of the "Bombay Chronicle."

Swami Satynanda of the Hindu Mission draws atteton to the thousands of aborigines who are being induced to embrace Christianity and says "Hindus should know that these Hill tribes, if cared for and assimilated in the Hindu community, will for the backbone of renascent India."

Indian Philosophy

Prof. Radhakrishnan concluded his interview with the representative of the Bombay Chronicle in the following remarkable passage :-

"Indian Philosophy has ceased to be alive at the present moment because they were now commentators and not constructive thinkers. However, as Indian thinkers we are liable to stick to Hindu thought. In the past days when Hinduism was vigorous and alive, they were readjusting their thoughts, but latterly listlessness reigned. Unless we realise that the world is for the living and not for the dead and reistate or rather remould our own lives in accordance with Modern Science or knowledge, we have no reason to be proud of our ancient culture and civilisation. The glorification of the past may be a consolation for our bitter present ; but we must move on."

Sloughed off Superstitions

Prof. Radhakrishnan said at Calcutta on 18th inst. to a representative of the A.P.I. :

"If our young men are trained to despise their own

culture, there is not much hope for our country which is already outwardly broken. Respect for one's own individuality is a solid basis on which moral culture and learning could be assimilated by us. Unfortunately our system of education has neglected to attach itself to our culture with the result that our best men are content to mark time and repeat past authorities instead of advancing on them. If our education should have penetrated our life, we would long ago have sloughed off our superstitions in which most of us have still faith."

Hindu Chemistry

In a lecture delivered at Bangalore on 20th inst. Sir P.C. Ray dwelt at length on the Susruta's and Charaka's method of Alkali Extraction and Metallugy of zinc as embodied in the Rescinder Chintamani. He showed how ancient experimental detail looked so modern for purposes of application that they could be bodily transferred to works on Modern chemistry. He combased the notion that zinc was originally brought to India by the Dutch or the Portuguese.

Universality of Outlook

Dr. Kalidas Nag M.A.,D. Litt, (Paris), Secretary of the "Greater India Society," said at the inaugural meeting :-

"The profoundest spiritual realisations of India were contained in the immortal truths of the Upanishads. The Rishis of old never made secrets of them but proclaimed these deathless truths to the whole mankind through their memorable cry 'Srinvantu Visve Amritasya putrah.' This unmistakeable universality of outlook is manifested also in two of the greatest religions of the world, Jainism and Buddhism. The principle of Ahimsa, nonviolence - professed by the followers of Mahavira and the principle of Maitri, Fraternity promulgated by Buddha are the very cornerstones of Hindu spirituality. Inspired by those ideals Emperor Dharmasoka attempted to build up a Dharmarajya, an Empire

of righteousness as early as the third century B.C. His spiritual Missions touched the frontiers of the Hellenic world on the one side and the Mongolian world and the other. Asoka is undoubtedly the first practical Internationalist of History. His political empire disappeared but his ideals liberated the springs of Indian creative activity in such a way that the whole of Asia from Gandhara, Central Asia and China to japan on the one hand and Ceylon, Burma, Malay, Indo-China and Indonesea on the other, came to be the spiritual domain of India. This forgotten history of Greater India has to be restudied and recovered from oblivion. This spiritual relationship of India with Greater India has to be renewed and wherever there is a single Indian in any part of the Gobe, he or she should be made to feel an intimate relation with the motherland."

Dr. Nag has visited several countries including French Indochina, Dutch East Indies China and japan.

Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A. C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and the first President of the "Greater India Society" said :-

"Having awakened interest in the cultural coloies of Champa, Cambodge, Java, etc. the Indian people should try to reestablish relations with them. We shall have to win their heart again, through selfless service and spiritual idealism, which were the keynotes of ancient Indian History. The sister streams of the Buddhism and Brahmanism has once irrigated the continent of Asia. May the same spring of Indian idealism spriead over the whole of Asia, fertilising the Asiatic mind and urging deathless creations in the domain of art and literature as of Yore."

Rabindranath Tagore's Message to Russia

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who was no a visit to Stockholm some time ago, gave an interview to M. Arosev, the Bolshevik author, that his love for Russian literature had crated in him a desire to visit Russia. The Indian poet handed to Arosev the following greeting to be transmitted

to the Russian readers, the facsimile of which has been reproduced in all Soviet Papers :-

" I have come to know and admire Russian through her great literature and I feel in my heart the call of her humanity."

Stockhom Sep. 8th 1926.

Rabindranath Tagore.

Institute for Studying Buddhism

A message from Leningrad states that an institute for studying Buddhism is to be inaugurated by the Academy of Science, to which it will be attached. The institute will consist of four sections: the Japanese, Hindu and Mongolian. To carry on regular work at the institute the following Sancritologists are expected to join. The scholar Ogihara from japan, Saraswati from India, Dabdanoff from Mongolia and a learned Sanscritologist from China.

Besides these scholars, Professor Johan Rader the Prominent Dutch scholar and Sanscritologist is also expected to come to Leningrad to work in the Institute. The General Direction of the institute's scientific work will be in the hands of academicians Oldenburg and Stcherbatzky. The institute will be opened before the end of the year.

[The Liberators, 25 November, 1926]

The Ordeals Aryasamaj Had To Pass Through

III

A Historical Document

CHAPTER II

Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, was born in 1824 at Morvi in kathiawar. His name was Mula Shankar and father, Amba Sankar, was a landholder and an officer of the Kathiawar (Morvi. ed.) state. He was a Brahman of Audich sub-division.

As a boy Mulashankar received a good Sanskrit education and he was brought up in the bigoted atmosphere of Orthodox Siva worship.

The following incident in his youth is recounted as being the first sign of his revolt against Hinduism. When about 14 on the occasions of a Sivaratri festival he was required to spend a night in meditation at a temple in Morvi in company with his father and some other priests, when the irreverent behaviour of a mouse in climbing over the idol and eating the offerings around it suggested to him that such an idol could not be the Mighty Siva, seeing that he could not be the Mighty Siva, seeing that he could not protect himself against a mouse. He told his father of his thoughts but the latter's explanations did not satisfy Mulashankar whose doubts grew with time and with the study of the Hindu Scriptures which were readily available

for his perusal. He told his father of his thoughts but the latter's explanations did not satisfy Mulashankar whose doubts grew with time and with the study of the Hindu Scriptures which were readily available for his perusal. He devoted himself to the study of Sanskrit and philosophy and, long before time for marriage, he had made up his mind to be celibate and scholar. The crisis in his life came in 1845 when his parents insisted on his marriage. He endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose but finding that his efforts were of no avail, he left his home and after wandering three years he was initiated as a Sanyasi, giving up the name of Mulshankar and taking that of Dayanand. As a Sanyasi, he travelled far and wide, seeking of knowledge and sitting at the feet of most eminent Yogis and scholars in India. From 1860 to 1863 Dayanand studied under the guardianship of the blind Sanskrit scholar, Swami Vrijanand Saraswati, at Mathura, from whom he received most of the instructions in the Vedas and it was from him that he received his commission to spread the teaching of the Vedas and fight against the prevailing false sects.

From 1863 onwards Swami Dayananda travelled throughout India in his campaign against idolatory and superstition. His efforts were chiefly directed to establishing a following at the strongholds of Hinduism in Northern India, Benares, Mathura and Hardwar. There is little doubt that one of the strongest impulses directing Dayanand's Mission was the fear that spread of Christianity would mean the strengthening of British domination in India and partly because he felt that Christianity was glistened to displace the National religion of the Hindus and he could not associate the idea of Christian India with that of a free India.

As has been noted in the former chapter his chief objection to the Brahma Samaj, which religion he recognized as being based on very sound principle (Dayananda never acknowledged Brahma Samaj as based on sound principles. On the contrary he shewed the hollowness of its articles of faith in the Satyarth Parkash. Ed.) was that it lacked

patriotism was too tolerant of Christianity and accepted too much of its teachings. As instancing Dayanand's apprehension of the spread of Christianity a conversation between him and the Evangelist Madhu Ram at Mathura in 1869 is of particular interest. Dayananda is reported to have said to the latter - "There are three ways in which India may become Christian (1) Government may order the people to become Christians (2) there may occur a great famine when in order to obtain food people will accept Christianity and (3) by the preaching of the Gopel ; and to this Dayanand added ; and the last way is the best." (Swami Dayananda studied with Dandi Swami Vrijanand from 1860 A.D. to 1863 A.D. and left for preaching the Vedic Dharma. He never went to Brindaban and Mathura but once where he preached from 15th March 1874 to 19th March 1874. So he could not have met the Evangelist Madhu Ram in 1869. Ed.)

The Reverend P.H. Zenker (probably a German) of the Church Missionary Society, almost the oldest and most learned Missionary in Northern India has remarked with regard to the reference by Dayanand to the feeling of being thoroughly cowed underlying the first condition given, that this feeling did actually prevail for some years after the Mutiny.

Mr. Zenker records that between 1884-1886 when at Brindaban he ascertained that Dayanand's real object was to obtain of India all the advantages which western Civilization has conferred on the nations of Europe but that being fully acquainted with the charter of his Hindu countrymen he knew that they would hardly be willing to accept as a guide one who would present this as the sole aim object of all the training they would have to undergo. He, therefore, cast about for an expedient to gild the pill and thought he had found it in the cry : "Let us return to the pure teaching of the Vedas." Dayanand has been appropriately described by the Rev. H.D. Griswold, of the Foreman Christian College Lahore as the Indian Luther whose watchword was "Back to the Vedas" while the Great Christian watchword was : Back to the Bible.

(It is clear that the first persons who misrepresented Rishi Dayananda and acted the part of the C.I.D. against him and the Church he founded were the Christian Missionaries who could never hold their own against him in public religious disputations and seeing their harvest being snatched away form their hands secretly succeeded in rousing the political suspicions of the British Bureaucracy against Dayanand and the Arya Samaj. Ed.)

Dayanand at first directed his efforts to the reform of priesthood which he hoped to effect by establishing Sanskrit Schools, where what appeared to him to be the true interpretation of the Hindu Seriptures should be taught. He engaged in several religious controversies with Pandits of orthodox party, the most important of which was on in 1870 at Benares, in which he was opposed by Madhavachary and at which some 20 thousand people are said to have been present. Whatever was the result of the debate Dayanand was unable to obtain any following at Benares. He continued to frequent Benares however. In 1872 he established a Sanskrit Pathshala in which the Vedas, as he interpreted them, were to be taught. The School, however, did not thrive as the opposition of the orthodox party resulted in no students being available for instruction.

In 1872 he is said to have made the acquaintance at Calcutta of the reformer Keshab Chander Sen, who was, at that time, leader of the Brahma Samaj and it would seem that it them that he decided that it was hopeless to attempt to reform the Hindu religion from within and that the only way, unless he was to join and support the Brahmo Samaj, was for him to start a separate religion. (The Aryasamaj preaches the Vedic Dharma and is not a separate religion. Ed.) He was, for reasons already given, averse to joining the Brahmo Samaj and so called into existence the sect to which he gave the attractive title of Arya Samaj or Society of nobles.

The first branch of the Arya Samaj was established by him at Bombay in 1875 and during the follow few years

Dayanand exhibited great activity in Northern India, founding branches at most of the important towns, in these Provinces (i.e. the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), and in the Punjab. It is said that before his death, in 1883, he had effected the establishment of no less than three hundred branches of the Arya Samaj. He met with his death in October 1883 which was attributed to poison said to have been administered to him while at Jodhpoor.

He had a large following before he died and had collected considerable funds. Sometime before his death Dayanand executed an elaborate will according to which he devoted his property to the propagation of the Aryasamaj religion. He appointed Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Sham Krishen Varma, Mr. Ranade, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao and some other well-known gentleman as trustees to administer the estate, who formed what was called the Paropkarini Sabha (Society for doing good to others) at Ajmere and he directed that the money should be applied to the publication of the Vedas, the Vedangas and commentaries on them, to the preaching of the Vedas through preachers and to the maintenace and education of the poor and orphans of India. The money was a actually in the Vedic Press at Ajmere which continues to be the property of the Aryasamaj and was also devoted to the establishment of an orphanage, known as the Dayanand orphanage at Ajmere.

With regard to Dayanand's character it is evident that the need for a national religion was the first consideration with him. He saw that the fabric of Hinduism was crumbling before the enlightenment of the present age and he thought that the adoption or even the adaptation of a foreign religion by Indians would endanger their position as a nation and their hope of eventual independence. He was first patriot and afterwards religious reformer. He conceived the idea of a religion that would accommodate the majority of his educated countrymen and incorporated certain platitudes as the ten principles of the Aryasamaj which most educated Hindus could subscribe to without any misgiving. (The

eatholicity of the Vedic Dharama as expressed in ten principles is thus twisted by Christian prejudices and bureaucratic misgivings to their own purpose. Ed.)

His chief aim seems to have been to establish a religion that would be a popular one, that would please the people and to join which no sacrifice or self-denial was needed (This is a wilful travesty of truth. The persecutions suffered by Aryasamajists can well compare with any historical religious persecutions Ed.)

His objection to the Brahmo Samaj, noted at the close of the preceding chapter, show the strongest forces working with him were patriotic feeling and his antipathy to Christianity and the foreigners. (Not to foreigners but to foreign yoke. Ed.)

He generally struck those who met him, when he was on his missionary tours in the later years of his life, as an earnest seeker after Truth. The references made by Monier Williams in his Brahmanism and Hinduism (2nd edition) to his meetings and conversations with Dayanand are of special interest as the Arya Samaj was in its infancy at the time that the book was issued (1882). To him Dayanand stated that he was a follower of the Vedas and maintained that the four Samhita texts of the Vedas were Divine Revelation and the later books only secondary authorities and that they are required to worship and prayer to be offered to one only God. The following definition of religion which he gave to Monier Williams is also of interest :

"Religion is a true and just view and the abandonment of all prejudice and partiality - that is to say - it is an impartial enquiry into the Truth by means of the senses and the two other instruments of knowledge, reason and revelation."

It is of interest to know that for sometime the Theosophical Society, under Col. O'lcott and Madame Blavatski was actually a branch of the Arya Samaj. A difference of opinion between the lady and Dayanand resulted in the connection being severed.

Dayanand as a Social reformer was far from a success. His attitude with regard to caste and caste restrictions and ceremonies was marked by weakness and vacillations. It would seem as if he had at first intended including in his bar and protest the many caste disabilities and obligations which has surrounded and weighed down the Hindus of the 19th Century and which he recognised were equally pernicious with, if not more so tan,. the degeneration of his religion. He had laid down in the statement of his beliefs at the close of the Satyarth Prakash that the class or order of a man should be determined by his merit. Dayanand, however quickly saw that the Social customs dictated by the caste system were too strong for him to interfere with, without risk of making his cult an unpopular one. If he declared what was against the Hindu Social system, every convert he obtained would have been obliged, as in case of the Brahmo Samaj, to brave social ostracism, and he saw that his articles of faith were not sufficiently attractive to gain many converts under such conditions. He preached against caste on frequent occasions and against the disabilities of the Hindus, but it is not recorded that he ever had the courage to act up to his convictions though he was challenged on more than one occasion to do so.

(The writer alludes perhaps to an occasion when Rev. T.J. Scott asked him to dine with him. The reply was he could not dine with a flesh and beef-eater. Ed.)

That Dayanand was a great scholar can scarcely he maintained in view of the puerile statements regarding the attainments of the ancient Aryas and the Vedas rightly read contained the knowledge that Western nations have since acquired by a study of the sciences. (Read the opinion of modern Vedic Scholars and Scientists who are coming round to Dayanand's point of view. Ed.) Moreover the interpretation of the Vedas according to Swami Dayanand is not recognized as legitimate by any European or Indian Sanskrit Scholar outside the Arya Samaj. (But question modern Non-Arya Samaj Sanskrit Scholars and you will see a great change. Ed.)

THURSDAY, 2nd December, 1926
IMITATE MADRAS

Interviewed by a Representative of Mr. Hormman's "National Herald" Prof. Radhakrishnan is reported to have said that Hindu Society wants a Mussolini. The learned Professor must have had in his mind the "diseased limbs" like Mr. M.K. Acharya Swarajist, which can be "lopped off" only by a Surgeon like Mussolini. This Mr. Acharya wasted public money for his itineration in this Balkan Peninsula of India, which Sir Michael Odwyer with Musalmans as Junior partners wanted to convert into the Ulster of India, and which no South Indian Brahmin can understand unless he makes his home here, learns and masters Urdu even as he does English and ceases to look upon himself as a junior partner of the British in the 'Red tape.' Look at this Acharya's audacity ! He was just a week in the Punjab and on his own admission visit only a very few centres Then he is interviewed by probably one of his own 'jat wala's, an underling of Mr. Care-a-hangfor-truth Roy and like the Delphic oracle or a sibyl - to speak more correctly - delivers a few sentences, which for misunderstanding and misrepresentation cannot be beaten by rejected women, or by European and American experts or even by Tamili Brahmans except of the famous "Acharya" family.

If guttural Orations or verbose diction or Associated Press Messages could enable any body of persons to win Swaraj for India, the Madras Brahmins would today have won it. Probably - i.e. if there were not friends of Musalmans and of a rare few rich Punjabi Hindus in and about the "ring" which goes by that high-sounding statutory designation "the Government of India," we should by now have the whole "ring" occupied by Mr. Acharya's jatwalas but for the inevitable remnants of the old Bengalee phalanx. And why should you not take that as "Swaraj," if you can take the Brahminridden Madras Swaraj Party as "National"? The Associated Press representatives have got time to rove

about with Satyamu this and Acharyas and to see "fifteen" Musalmans in Delhi, but not to ascertain even the correct number of Hindu voters on the Assembly elcctoral roll for Delhi. Though Mr. K.C. Roy has been in Delhi, the Associated Press has not withdrawn or corrected its allegation that there are 4600 Hindu voters on that roll : but Mr. Roy can send a lengthy rigmarole to the "Hindusthan Times" even as he sent one to the "Justice" of madras in which he made an outrageous misstatement about the concern of non-Madrasi Hindus in the "Hindu Religious Endowments Act." The Bombay Representative of the Associated Press flashed out Mr. Satyamurthi's hollow Challenge that he would resign his seat for Madras University, seek re-election and have his opponent's deposit forfeited. But when he went to Madras he backed out of it and Mr. Roy's underling of Madras was silent. There is no better relation between steel and Mr. Satyamurthi's tongue than between truth and the Associated Press-in virtue of which the Editor Mr. K.C. Roy. deserve to have the title "C.H.T." short form of "Care a hang for Truth." Let it, however, be noted in passing that such an agency does not enable Nationalist forces to effectively stand against the British Government. Let is also be noted at the risk of digression that this extraordinary affinity between the Swaraj Party and the Associated Press (which was to be found once before in 1923) dates from the 'killing' of the Sabarmati Pact by Mr. Satyamurthi's battalion.

Such an Agency has tried to create in the whole of south and central India an impression about the success of Mr. Satyamurthi and Mr. Acharya, which has now been proved absolutely false by the polling booths. Between the two the former fared better and surly deserved the better fate. The latter's tour was an execration. His references to the warm reception he got are like the comic picture of a kicked man thanking the kicker. His exposition of the Swaraj party's programme was like the apology of an adulterer. His statement about the blind faith of Punjabis

is like the curse of rejected woman. His Mission was like that of a doctor deputed to spread poisonous bacilli. And his two discoveries - we are thinking as to what they are like !

In all seriousness, we ask Mrs.Naidu, Pandit Motilal Nehru and even the President-elect Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar whether the Indian National Congress stands for :-

(1) Disruption of Hindus as the basis of Hindu-Muslim Unity ;

(2) Maintenace of Untouchability with the Mathematical accuracy with which, according to Dr. P.C. Roy, it is worked out in the Presidency of Mr. Acharya ; and

(3) Denial of Hindi or Urdu as the official language of the National Congress.

We address these questions, in particular, to Pandit Motilal Nehru who is nearest to us not only geographically but also in views. Only the other day he expounded a view about Hinduism to which we referred in our article on Swami Dayanand three weeks ago. The same view was reiterated by Panditji in a number of places. We ask him whether he has inquired as to the views Mr. Acharya holds and preaches. Even from a tactical point of view, we ask Panditji whether he at all thought before importing this swagger from Tamil Nadu. He claims to be "xyz" because he belongs to the family of "xyz." In what century does he live ? Let him know that he is at least fifty years out of date in the Punjab, howsoever fluent English he may speak. So may Bajirao the second claim to be the grandson of Bajirao I and Henry VI of England to be the soon of Henry V. Caste-rigidity and M.K. Acharya are inseparable. It runs through his blood, flesh, marrow, bones and braincells. If the Indian National Congress stands for intercommunal amity, these specimens of castearrogance and casterigidity must be "lopped off" as so many "diseased limbs." Maulana Mahomed Ali referred to this operations at Sabarmati and may, usefully turn his attentions to this erudite Brahmin of Iyengar Ghoshti.

Punjabi Hindus have no idea of "religion," but have

"profound blind faith," ejaculates this freak of Saraswati. Verily, religion is centred in the agraharams which are so many 'Kenya Highlands' in the heart of India ! Religion is centred within the cobwebs of recondite disputation spun by these Acharyas who fleece superstition spun by these Acharyas who fleece superstitious people, absolutely free, mind you, from 'blind faith'! Religion is centred in the homes of the Nambudiri Brahmins, the younger sons of every family among whom must not may but may have Sambandham with women of lower castes whose saliva may by drunk by these sacred 'religious' Brahmins without danger to their caste. Blessed is Punjab because it has been dispersed by one "of whom to be dispersed is no small praise" ! Madras Swaraj Party of the Indian Legislative Assembly is surely as "Nationalistic" as the Agraharams are religious. Because only seven out of the eight Hindu members of that party are Brahmins and five of them are Iyengars and the sixth is this blessed sanatanist M.K. Acharya ! (We beg pardon of North India sanatists). If the interests of these Brahmin monopolists are in the least threatened even by those who contribute to those monopolies and as such can, rightfully, threaten them, away goes the mandate to "walk out" and in comes the phalanx of Madras Swarajist marionettes to perform the minuet directed by the representative of the Agraharams. That is Swarajism, Nationalism, loyalty to the Indian National Congress ! How can Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu be right in his accusation of the Madras Swaraj party as "Brahminical" when only seven are Brahmins out of the eight Hindu Swarajist M.L.A.,s of Madras ? All provinces of India! imitate Madras and Swaraj will be established in India before the next birthday of Mr. M.K. Acharya, Swarajist M.L.L. who will, on that day, be presented a joint address on behalf of Kenya Colonists, Indian Sanatani Musalmans and manufacturers of Sodawater bottles, by Lord Delamere. If on that day Mr. Andrews be in India, he is to be interned with Mr. Stokes at Kotgarh.

Hearty Congratulations

As we go to the Press, we learn that Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla has been elected to the Indian Legislative Assemble and hasten to offer him heartiest Congratulations.

Editorial Observations

All-India Prayer Day

Brother Andrews wired to Gandhiji to hold an all-India prayer to strengthen the forces of truth and justice in the Round Table Conference to be held in South Africa. The wire also stateed that the idea of the prayer was appreciated by the clergy of South Africa. We are publishing today an article from the pen of our brother whose series of articles has already been read by our readers. Brother Andrews has great faith in the instinct of the African people themselves, especially the Nationalists of South Africa who, through the exertions of General Hertzog, have got all they wanted in London. The spiritual leaders of these being behind brother Andrews we are incline to believe that success, which has so far been with him, will stick to him. We are glad Gandhiji, who having ternated his enforced imprisonment at Ahmedabad is leaving his Ashram tomorrow and is proceeding to Wardha, has appointed 19th of this month for the all-India prayer. To strengthen that collective prayer, let Indians also do something meritoious.

For the Untouchables

Mr. S. Sreenivas Iyengar M.L.A. took active part in the negotiations with the highest authorities in Travancore on behalf of the Vaikom Satyagrahis for opening the public roads to the socalled untouchable communities. Dr. Munje has been taking substantial interest in the improvement of the Depressed Classes and presided over the last session of the Hindu Shuddhi Conference held at Delhi. Mr. M.R. Jayakar has taken a good deal of interest in the work of

the Matunga Branch of the Hindu Sabha, had led the appeal for a common temple for all Hindus irrespective of cast or untouchability and took a leading part in having socalled untochable brethren to join the public Ganpati festival. We heartily congratulate all these three gentleman on their election to the Indian Legislative Assembly on behalf of Madras, Nagpur and Bombay respectively. Mr. Iyengar had the dice loaded in his favour by his election as President of the Assam session of the Indian National Congress. Dr. Munje is a tested fighter who had to seek election to the Assembly, in preference to the Local Council, as he is required for all - India service and as he had to prove his right to enter all Indian provinces unmolested by Birleys and Maynards. Mr. jayakar is President of the Responsive Cooperation Party which has swept the 'trademark' Swarajists from the whole of Maharashtra, west and east of Sahyadri. The congratulations we offer are frankly conditional or, if legal terminology may be borrowed, congratulations Nisi, which will be made absolute if all of these three do something tangible to improve the condition of the Depressed classes and insist, at the first available opportunity, on a practical and effective Charter incorporating equal public Rights to them with the socalled highcastes. For Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar a very useful and effective opportunity will be available in Assam. But before that both he and Dr. Munje must set their shoulders to the wheel without a moment's delay if the danger that is raising its head in the South-Western part of Madras Presidency is not to be allowed to overrun large territories. Mr. Jayakar has before him the case of Chamars of Kolaba District who re being harassed for using a public tank. He is President of the Bombay Provincial Hindu Sabha and has to justify his office in the eyes of progressive people. He can do so only by proving in action that exclusion, for expansion not contraction, for welcome not excommunication ; and the royal road to prove it is the uplift of the Depressed classes.

Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall

One of God's gifts to Islam and to the Nizam of Hyderabad is Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall. He had been "graciously permitted by His Exalted Highness the Nizam to visit Madras and to deliver" a series of six lectures in English on "the cultural side of Islam." These lectures will be delivered in the second fortnight of the January at the Lawley Hall, the Anjuman Buildings, Mount Road under the auspices of the Committee in charge of "Madras Lectures on the Religion of Islam." Mr. Pickthall is at once a renowned author and a great traveller. Born of a family of Normans, who went to England in the eleventh and twelfth century, he inherits that French bias for Islam and Musalmans, which is to be. Mr. Pickthall, who is much better known in Egypt - Miss Zakia Suleiman recognised him at the mention of his name - than in India, has told all of us that conduct is the test of religion according to Koraneshariff. If this be so, Mr. Pickthall belonged to the same religion before formal conversion to Islam as after. For his love of Islam he was made to suffer in England and for his love of real democracy he was made to suffer in India. Mr. Pickthall is an ornament to any Faith and to any country. He knows what is to fight for one's conviction and being an Englishmen, he fights like a bulldog. We have no doubt Mr. Pickthall, who has ever laid greater stress on righteousness of conduct than on the docrine a person preaches, will succeed in clarifying the miasma of Hindu - Muslim misunderstanding that has been created by interested Maulanas and Acharyas. We give our best wishes to Mr. Pickthall and hope his lectures will be published in bookform.

A Remarkable Marriage

A brahmin widow of Benares (U.P.) was married, on 24th November under the auspices of the Vidhwa Viwah Sahayak Sabha Lahore, to Mr. Dalla Muthra Das Sahgol, a Kshatriya of Punjab. The Marital rites were guided by

a Sanatanist Pandit. After the ceremony was over, sweets were distributed to all present and clothes worth Rs. 25 were presented to the bride on behalf of Sir Ganga Ram.

Social Reform in Andhra

The Andhra Social Conference was held at Ellore on 28th and 29th November, Dr. P.Varadarajulu Naidu of Salem Presiding. Mr. M.G. Naidu of South Africa, who was famous in 1913 Passive Resistance Movement, attended the Conference.

Hindu Mission

About ten thousand Christians and Animists were initiated into Hinduism in Bogra District, (as announced last week), by Swami Satyanand of the Hindu Mission with the cooperation of Padmaraj Jain, Satyacharan Sastri and Miss. Moriolester who is said to be a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. The Police Superintendent with wife were amongst the numerous visitors at the function which went on for several hours.

Depressed Classes Conferences

Under the auspices of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi, the following Conferences will be held : -

1. Dalit Uddhar Conference at Katwal, Dt. Rohtak on 11th and 12th December 1926.

2. Rohtak Dhanuk Jatiya Sudhar Conference at Rohtak on 7th, 8th and 9th January 1927.

3. Dalit Uddhar Conference at Vallabhagadh on 21st February 1927.

Commendable

At the request of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha Delhi, the Municipal Board of Sikandrabad (Dt. Bulandshahr) has decided to give special facilities in registering births and deaths the Depressed Classes.

Grant of Rs. 250

The Provincial Branch of the Boy Scouts Association for the U.P. has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 250 to be paid to the schools conducted in the United Provinces by the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi. The Secretary, Swami Ramanand is particularly happy as the grant is unsolicited and is grateful to the donors.

Sikh and Khatik Civil Case

In the Court of Babu Ghanashyamdas, Senior Sub-Judge Delhi, a dispute was going on for about a year regarding non-Sikh Khatiks' right of possession in the common Dharamshala forcibly taken possession of by the Sikh Khatiks. Two or three days ago the Court gave a decree against the Sikh Khatiks for Rs. 1200 as part price of Dharamshala and Rs. 300 as legal expenses. The criminal case is still pending in the Court of Mian Mohammed Arif.

RAMANANDA SANYASI.
(Secretary Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi)

Sir P.C. Roy at Bangalore

Sir P.C. Roy addressed a Public Meeting at Bangalore on 19th November and vigorously condemned caste and the notion of untouchability. He advised the Member of the Depressed classes to educate their children and impressed upon the caste-Hindus the propriety of socially uplifting the Depressed.

Exemption to Untouchable

The Mysore University Senate has resolved that the exemption, enjoyed by students of the socalled untouchable communities in respect of paying fees for the University Examinations, should be continued for five years more. It is reported that similar exemption is going to be granted by Madras and Andhra Universities.

Tyranny of Brahmins

At a Meeting Maruthuwars, the following Resolution was passed unanimously :-

"That this Meeting regrets the attitude of the Madras Government in not affording adequate protection to the Maruthuwars of the southern Districts, especially of Tinnevelly against the aggression of caste-Hindus, especially Brahmins."

Swarajist Brahmins

The "Hindu" correspondent's statement that Dr. Varadarajulu called the Congress brahmanical is wrong. He never said or wrote like that but he still holds the Swarajya party only in his province as Brahmanical.

Found Solace in Hindu Thought

In the course of a speech to a learned audience at Madras, Professor Radhakrishnan said that whenever he had to stand on Western platforms it was his privilege to stand up for Indian ideals. But on Indian platforms he thought that it was his duty to say where they fell short of those Indian ideals. They had been led into this condition on account of lapses from those great ideals. The first meeting which he had the honour to address at Cambridge was attended by some of the most distinguished professors. One of them asked the speaker, "Do you say that Indians have capacity for Science ?" Another distinguished professor asked him, "Have you any political capacity"? He answered them by asking them to remember the great warning of Lord Acton, namely "you never found your beliefs on 400 years extend your survey for three hundred years more" (Laughter). The speaker then pointed our that the extent of Indian civilisation had not been a small one. It had not been a shortlived one. Some of the greatest intellects had been able to derive sat infection from Hindu thought. Even to day some of the people, who regarded themselves as

the greatest in the world, found solace in Hindu thought. Half of the world now moved foundations which India had built. China, Japan, Burma, Siam, Tibet and Ceylon looked upon India as their spiritual home. If they took all those achievements into account they would be struck by the fact that she had a vitality which made her very strong.

It was true that India's achievements in the field of politics and science had not been as much as one could expect from a country of such long cultural and scientific traditions. But India was once quick with life, crossing countinentrs, planting colonies, and keeping abreast with the scientific and industrial development of the whole world. Her arts, her industries and her mystic idealism were a centre of attraction to the whole world. Her arts, her industries and her mystic idealism were a centre of attraction to the whole world. Her arts, her industries and her mystic idealism were a centre of attraction to the whole world. India was able to combine mystic idealism with a thoroughly satisfactory outer life.

But the history of the last 400 years was a sorry tale. It is there that they found that they had lapsed from their ideals. Indian Society had not been in conformity with those great truths to which they owed lip allegiance. The other organisation was based on principles which were inonsistent with and antagonistic to the fundamental principles of their thought. No country in the whole world was confronted by such national invasions as India was. The ideal of the Hindu civilisation was to keep all the different elements together in peace and harmony. They felt that racial extermination was not right. Each community was given an opportunity to share in the higher cultural life of the community as also responsibility to contribute to it. Respect for the individual was the principle on which the whole social organisation was based. In the field of religion absolute freedom was given to each group to worship different cults.

But latterly this democratic principle of universalism had led to disastrous results. Some institutions became the

means of oppression. It was necessary for the Hindu thinkers to face this problem and remould their social organisation so as to make it more democratic. In making that attempt they would have to sacrifice much. He believed that it was weakness of their social organisation that was responsible for their present situation. They should respect their past. Respect for individuality meant that they should retain their past and link it with the future. That was the foundation on with a stable future could be built. With different customs, different cults, how could we live together in one harmonious social life ? - that was the problem by which India was faced. It was necessary for them to devise some way by which they could in peace and harmony.

[The Liberators, 2 December, 1926]

The Ordeals Aryasamaj Had To Pass Through

IV

A Historical Document

CHAPTER III

The religion of the Arya Samaj makes very few demands from its followers. It insists on very little observance, abstinence or devotion. (The observance of their principles cost, the majority of the Arya Samajists in the Punjab, ostracism from their several brotherhoods and persecution by the Government ; their insistence on abstinence from idol worship and other superstitious observances made them the target for filth and abuse for the orthodox Hindus : and their practical faith in Ahimsa (non-violence) caused a split in their Samaj. But look at the next sentence which contradicts the first. Ed.) It sets up, however, a comparatively high standard of morality and it also expects its followers to give a hundredth part of their income or if possible more to the funds of the Arya Samaj.

Its religious rites are very simple and on the occasion of meetings consist of some Bhajans (hymns) of recitation from the Vedas, some religious addresses or lectures and of the ceremony known as Homa which consists of the burning of malted butter with, if possible, some sandalwood, while reciting mantras.

Dayanand explained that this Homa was necessary for the purification of the air and for prevention of diseases

and said that in the golden days of India it was a very general custom and further that as long as this system lasted India was free from disease and its people happy.

There is very little in such religious observances to attract a thoughtful man, and the most that can be said for it, is that it enables sonverts to discard superstition and yet remain a Hindu.

The Rev. W.E.S. Holland of the Church Missionary Society, who has for some years past made a study of the Arya Samaj religion, has expressed the opinion that in all the religious exercises of the Aryasamaj that he has attended "the note of spiritual fevour or reverence or worship was almost totally absent and that he has not been impressed by any sense of devotion in the worshipper. (Because there is less show than real devotion among the Arya Samajists. Ed.)

Mr. Holland was particularly impressed by the enthusiasm evinced at the Kangri Gurukula Anniversary ceremony, of which he wrote, a very interesting account in the 'East and West' Magazine for July 1907.

In this connection he has remarked that the dominant impression left on him was that the motive power of the Samaj was national rather than religious (because in the Code of Vedic Dharama, national is not divorced from Dharama, wrongly translated 'religion, Ed.) and that this was freely acknowledge to him by some of the more earnest religious leaders at the Anniversary Meeting, among who he named the Punjabi lecturer Pandit Arya Muni. Mr. Holland gathered the same impression from individuals of the rank and file whom he questioned as to loftier motive in coming to the Anniversary Qaumi Josh (national zeal) was, he said the Universal explanation. The Arya Samaj, which is so bitterly opposed to Christianity, has imitated it in many respects. Much of its doctrines is taken from the Bible although not acknowledge It claims to be the first non-Christian Community to institute Orphanages in India.

Its Missionary work is now very extensive is based

on the system of the Church Missionary Society and they have even taken the same system of grading their subordinate preachers. There is considerable danger in the villages, which is intensified by the proclivity of such agents, either owing to their want of education or their mischievous intention to proclaim hostility to the Europeans as the doctrine of the Arya Samaj). (Here speaks Christian prejudice with a vengeance. Ed.) This is easily understood when a book containing objectionable passages like the Satyarth Prakash is the Bible which is given to these missionaries from which to preach to villagers.

Much of the contents is unintelligible to them, much of its contents would be distasteful to the villagers and it is not surprising that such passages as are quoted in the chapter following should occur to the missionaries as suitable texts for lectures as being calculated to rouse their interest and possible to induce them to induce them to join a religion which gives such plausible explanation for present day degeneracy and offers hope of a return to the golden golden age.

The Arya Samaj expects of its adherents subscription to the following ten Articles of Faith : -

(1) God is the Primary Cause of the true Knowledge and everything known by its means.

(2) God is All-truth, All-knowledge, All-beatitude, Incorporeal, Almighty, Just, Merciful, Unbegotten, Infinite, Unchangeable, without a beginning, Incomparable the support and the Lord of all, All-pervading, Omniscient, Imperishable, Immortal, Exempt from Fear, Eternal, Holy and the cause of the Universe. To Him alone Worship is due.

(3) The Vedas the books of true knowledge an it is the paramount duty of every Arya to read or hear them read, to teach and preach them to others.

(4) One should always be ready to accept Truth and renounce falsehood.

(5) All actions ought to be done conformable to virtue, i.e. after a thorough consideration of right and wrong.

(6) The Primary object of the Arya Samaj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual and Social condition of mankind.

(7) All ought to be treated with love, Justice and due regard to their merits.

(8) Ignorance ought to be expelled and knowledge diffused.

(9) No one ought to be contented with his own good alone but every one ought to regard his prosperity as included in that of others.

(10) In matters which affect the general social well-being of the whole society, one ought to discard all difference and not to allow his individuality to interfere, but in strictly personal matters every one may act with freedom.

Absolute acknowledgment of belief in each of these articles forming the creed of the religion is not insisted on, and members are enrolled in the Arya Samaj without assurance that they do subscribe to all the articles. (This is an atrocious libel, excusable only in an official document. Ed.)

1909 produced two instances in these Provinces (U.P.) of conversion of Europeans which were obviously not the result of convictions. One Mr. Dickie, low class European, who was unable to retain any appointment owing to being addicted to drink, was converted to the Arya Samaj at Meerut. (A man becomes low class when he leaves his Community. To reclaim a drunkard was creditable to the Arya Samaj and when he relapsed to the evil habit he was simply turned out after repeated efforts to reform him Ed.) And at Lucknow a very elaborate ceremony was performed for the initiation of an Australian woman named Miss Tenant the object being to facilitate her marriage with the Raja of Tikari, a consummation which the nobleman desired. (If an Indian woman is converted and married by a European she is called an Indian lady accepts the Vedic Dharma in order to marry an Indian nobleman she become a mere contemptible woman. Ed.) It is noteworthy that an

objectionable cartoon entitled - Indiaka photo issued by 'the Punjab' in 1906 contained what was obviously (?) a portrait of Dayanand urging the Youth of India to work for the regeneration of India. (The portrait resembled Swami Dayanand even, what then? Ed.)

To discuss the articles of the Aryasamaj faith, commencement must be made with a discussion as to the nature of their God. They profess to believe in one Supreme Being, a personal God who is to be looked up to by mankind for guidance and help and to be trusted. Their God is the Creator and Lord of all. Dayananda professed (?) to have obtained the idea of God from the Vedas other true Shastras and that it was the foundation of the doctrine of the Vedas.

Actually it is not so and these sacred books really inculcate in their earliest forms polytheism (even Max Muller admits the absence of the ides of polytheism in the Vedas ; he calls it Henotheism which has again been proved to he an error of enterpretation. Ed.) and later Pantheism which means that God Himself is every thing, that there is nothing existent besides him and whatever else seems to so exist is illusion (Maya). In addition to the attributes of God given in the second article Dayanand refers to Him as Paramatman or the fruit of their deeds in strict accordance with the requirements of actual justice.

In this connection it may be noted that the doctrine of Karma is accepted in its entirety and that there is on that account no room for a merciful and loving God is. (All this is dictated by the Christian missionaries so often discomfited in discussions with the Aryasamaj preachers. That God alone can be merciful has been proved by Dayananda in Satyarth Prakash. Compare also Mahatma Gandhi's recent arguments for sanctioning the shooting of mad dogs Ed.) The Vedas are declared to be Divine origin and eternal and to have been in existence from time immemorial. They are said to lay down the Will of god for the guidance of man. Dayanand claims the four Samhitas section of the Vedas to be absolutely free from error and to be Divine knowledge.

Regarding the Divine origin of the Vedas there is much in them to show positively their human origin, they contain references to contemporary history, to historical personages and to the occasions calling for their composition ; some of their writers are moreover known so that the exact age of their production can be fixed. The Vedas can be said with tolerable certainty to have been written at various times between 1100 B.C. and 530 B.C. while Dayananda in his commentaries on Vedas gives their ages as 19600, 852, 928 years. (In support of Dayanand's theory study Lokmanya Tilak, Mr. Paogie and other distinguished Vedic Scholars Ed.) It is noteworthy that Buddha rejected the theory of the divine origin of the Vedas "because they were wrong in point of time and because they had not the marks of God."

(The writer, on the authority of some bigoted Christian Missionary perhaps, goes on misrepresenting some other doctrines of the Aryasamaj and then suddenly turns to the Gurukula. Ed.)

There is one most important development in the Aryasamaj organization which is a source of danger to the state and that is Gurukula in these provinces will be referred to in a subsequent chapter, but it is necessary to refer to it when discusing the Aryasamaj as a religion. Whatever the defects may be, it is a very easy matter to train up the body of fanatics and devotees by taking boys at the age of 8, absolutely removing them from parental influence, surrounding them with an atmosphere of asceticism, austerity and religious devotion, instilling into their minds certain principles and encouraging a spirit of devotion and martyrdom. If training like this, which is what is to given in the Gurukula, is to be continued under the direct supervision of the ablest and most enthusiastic leaders of the Aryasamaj movement for, the 17 most impressionable years of the boys' lives, the material that will be forthcoming will be a menace to the state. There will be in them, what is probably absent in most of the present missionaries of

the Aryasamaj, deeprooted personal convictions, and that coupled with the courage to undergo privations, even if it is to be only physical, will give them a wonderful influence with the people and they will attract numberless converts, instilling into them an enthusiasm scarcely less than theirown.

The Aryasamaj lecturers of the present day are exceptionally Sadhus, but the lecturers produced by the Gurukulas will be Sanyasis, and such will receive the respect and the ready hearing that the religious devotees always command with the Hindus. It need only be remembered that their aim will be to establish one National religion in India with the view of uniting all Hindus in the brotherhood of the Arya religion, and that they will obey the mandate of Dayanand in the 11th Chapter of the Satyarth Prakash to lovingly devote themselves with all their wealth and even with their lives for the good of the country.

The unmeasured invective and abuse of other religions which finds place in the Satyarth Prakash is possibly without parallel in any religious work of the kind (compare the anathemas and tirades of Jesus and Muhammad against other religions. Ed.) and the followers of Dayanand have not been backward in copying the example set by him.

If any proof is needed that the prominent characteristic of the Aryasamaj Mission is abuse of other religions it would be found in the fact that in 1907 the Arya-pratinidhi Sabha of the United Provinces found it necessary to warn the lecturers and others against use of words in their speeches or otherwise that might hurt the religious feelings of others. This was done by means of a printed bhagwandin. That the warning had little effect is evident from the fact that one of the most prominent Aryasamajists of these provinces, Lala Ghasiram M.A. of Meerut wrote in the Vedic magazine in 1909 an article that showed that objectionable and vulgar abuse was common to the preachers of the Samaj. It is a fact that it is acknowledged by Aryasamaj leaders themselves that the religion exercises very little spiritual influence over the followers.

At the Gurukula Anniversary in 1909 the indifference of the Aryasamajists to the study of Vedas and other religious works is deplored ; (Instead of giving credit to the Aryasamajists for trying to bring some of the stray sheep to the right path the writer has, here, misrepresented the writings and speeches of Arya leaders. Ed.) Lala Achhru Ram an Aryasamjist wrote in the "Petendar" of the 10-8-1909 that ninety per cent of the young men of the community have not only studied no other religious book but they have not even made a study of the Satyarth Prakash. It is also remarkable that during the 30 years of its existence the Aryasamaj has failed to produce anyone who can be justly described as a Vedic Scholar.

Removal of Untouchability

Secretary, Dayanand Dalit Uddhar Mandal, Hoshiarpur, Punjab writes : -

1. Through the instrumentality of Lala Sant Singh Updeshak, Dayanand Dalit Uddhar Mandal, Punjab, Hoshiarpur and after continues and unabated exertion for full sex months, 120 Kabir Panthis in the Hamirpur Tehsil, District Kangra have been brought into the fold of the Vedic Church. Their untouchability has been removed and interdining with them sanctioned. It is a matter of great felicitation that no opposition was offered by the orthodox people. Sacred thread was given to all of them.

2. Mahasha Satyapal has been working in the Jammun state for the last two months amongst the Dooms. His strenuous labour and zealous preaching have resulted in the conversion of 177 Dooms to the Vedic Church. In spite of some opposition on behalf of the Rajputs, those people preferred to accept the Vedic religion and better their lot thereby socially, economically, morally and spiritually. The Mandal intends strenghtening its staff in the Jammun State and accomplish the work of the uplift of nearly two lakhs of untouchables in the State, but the paucity of funds stands in the way. The enlightened Hindu public should realise

the gravity of the situation and supply the Mandal the sinews of war. All remit tances should be made to Lala Devi Chand M.A. President.

3. P. Gulbadan, a self-styled reformer, is reported to be collecting large sums of money from the poor illiterate people by preaching his self-coined religion. He is turning the untouchables away from the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Dharma. The public is hereby warned to save the untouchables from the influence of such a person.

THURSDAY, 9th December, 1926
CRY FOR UNITY

After the dust of elections settled down, the cry for unity began to be raised once again. Since the A.I.C.C. turned down the famous abortive "pact" of Sabarmati, this cry was silent and the election drums were beating loud. The advocates of unity are making their voice heard a second time and, we venture to say, with a larger measure of success. The only witness of the Sabarmati Pact, the President of the A.I.C.C., Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is taking a leasing part in the making this voice heard. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, under her leadership, has even passed a Resolution asking the Guhati Congress to bring about a union between the two wings styled Swarajists and Responsive Cooperators or Independent Congress Party. We call three cheers to her magnificent efforts and with them to be fruitful.

We have, at the same time, to warn everybody that the parrotwise repetition of platitudes like "Union is strength", United we stand divided we fall", "Where there is a will, there is a way", will not take us an inch on the way to unity. What is necessary is to find out the stumbling blocks and to avoid them or overcome them. It is further necessary to see that such unity does not come in the way of any working alliances based on a broader unity formed in any one or more of Legislative Chambers.

The main stumbling blocks are the Responsivists'

exclusive claim to "Sagacity" and the Madras Brahmin Swarajists' claim to a monopoly of "patriotism."

The doctrine of Responsive Cooperation as propounded by Lokamanya Tilak, for which we have stood all along-even in 1922, is a living principle to be adapted to changing circumstances. It simply does not mean going "Back to Amritsar." Everybody has moved during these seven years. Today the principle of responsive cooperation does not warrant the emphasis on the acceptance of Ministership. With the results of the last elections before one's eyes, none can find any party in a clear majority in any Council. In this condition, the acceptance of ministership will be "Rank" or unconditional Cooperation (exept, perhaps in the Central Provinces.) The emphasis on the acceptance of ministerships has necessitated the formation of a party different in name for four provinces viz. Punjab, United Provinces, Hindustani C.P. and Behar. If this emphasis is maintained, there is little chance of any unity. The voice of the voter has been definite against ministerships being accepted in the name of the Congress, in the larger part of the Country and, we venture to say, all over the country except C.P. Marathi, Berar and Maharashtra. One of the parties sought to leave the issue to be decided at Gauhati and therefore the other party definitely refused to do anything of the kind. Even the Gauhati Congress, therefore, has no right or power to dissolve the election pledge. The best in this connection the Congress at Guhati can do, is to declare that it will have nothing to do officially with any Council Programme. The course to be followed in the Legislative chambers should be left to be settled by the elected members in conformity with their promises to the electors. There is no room for doubt about the rejection of Ministerships by the Provinces (1) Andhra, (2) Behar, (3) Bengal, (4) Gujrat, (5) Hindustani C.P. (6) Bombay and (7) Karnatak. This emphasis must, therefore, be given up.

On the other side the Swarajists must cease to claim any monopoly of partiotism. In the year 1923 Mr. Satyamurthi

said "It is not given to Mr. Joseph alone to serve the country." Apart from the disregard of consistency, this arrogant claim and the consequent claim to pour justifiable or unjustifiable abuse on everybody else are preventing unity from materialising. Even after the elections are not giving up their game of vilification and misrepresentation and are, therefore, the most difficult stumbling blocks of the path to unity. Presiding over the Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference Mr. K.V. Rangaswami Iyengar made a filthy attack, out of season, on Lalaji and Malviyaji. And was it a fair attack ? Was it against their politics ? No, these Madras Brahmin Swarajists know that an attack against their politics will not be very damaging. They, therefore, hit below the bet and bring in the adventitious charge of "communalism". Look at the credentials of these South Indian Brahmins to bring such a change. We protest against disproportion being granted to white settlers in Kenya, but the South Indian Brahmins beat them hollow; only examine the proportion of Brahmins in the madras Swarajist M.L.A.'s and compare it to their proportion in the population. You may or may not like Lalaji or his politics, we ourselves do not understand very much thereof : but he has a far wider outlook than any advocate of Agraharams. Even Malviyajee has begun to say that he loves a Chandala boy as much as Brahmin boy. The idea of these leaders being condemned by an Iyengar or an Acharya for their communalism raises before one's mind the picture of a person, who takes-under medical advice an ounce of spirit, being vociferously comdemned as a drunkard by another person who is making unsuccessful efforts to rise from a gutter. After driving tried patriots like Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu and Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker out of the Congress Organisation over the Brahmins' monopoly of temple endowments, what can be in the fitness of things than that these South Indian Brahmins surnamed "Swarajists" should castigate Lalaji and Malviyaji as communalists ? This course of conduct may be in the fitness of things so stagemanaged, and the veil of Swarajism may

be maintained on the extremely narrow sectarianism of M.K. Acharya and Co. with the aid of Charis and Sarmas of Mr. K.C. Roy. (The A.P. Message gives 1st December as 10 1st day of Patuakhali Satyagraha, while Calcutta papers say that it was 94th day. And who can challenge the reliability of Mr. K.C. Roy's agents ?) But simulation can be no substitute for reality. If you want "Unity", these stumbling blocks must be levelled. This hitting below the belt and this malicious misrepresentation must cease.

We share mahatma Gandhi's optimism. We appeal to Pandit Motilal Nehru's chivalry and broadmindedness. It he means to have Unity, he can have it. He can level the most difficult stumbling blacks. We hope he will have the courage to achieve the feat of doing it and steamrolle the path to Unity.

Swami Shraddhanand

Owing to physical ailments Swami Shraddhanand has to restrict his activities. He finds it extremely difficult to travel. He was very sorry not to respond to the loving call of Babu Shiv Prasad Gupta to attend the kashipur Conference. He is also very sorry to have to decline, with thanks, the invitation to preside over the "All-India Arya Kumar Sammelan" to be held at patna on 24th, 25th and 26th inst. although nothing pleases him more than the company of Brahmacharies. His medical advisors have told him to take rest and he hopes his friends will enable him to take it.

Editorial Observations

First Fair Legislator

We extend our hearties congratulations to Dr. Muthulaxmi Ammal on her being the first lady legislator of India. Owing to the Chivalry of madras Swarajists, that talented and accomplished lady Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was prevented from entering the portals

of the Madras Council Chamber. The removal of the ban against fair legislators was too late for women in general to organise. And we were having almost an eerie sensation at the prospect of " Communal representation with a separate electorate" being demanded for women It is an irony of fate that the first lady candidate as well as the first lady legislator should belong to the province disgraced by Mr. M.K. Acharya who has, also, been administered another bitter pill by the Tamil nadu Provincial Conference, which has adopted a resolution recommending to the Gauhati Congress to include "the removal of untouchability as an important item in the programme of the Congress." The first question to which Dr. Muthulaxmi must pay her attention is of "Devadasis," another adjunct of Mr. Acharya's Sanatanism. We hope she will not be the only lady in the Madras Provicial Council. We presume nominations of ladies to all provincial councils will shortly be made. We have heard of women's conferences passing resolutions demanding the nomination of some ladies even to the Indian Legislative Assembly. So many vital questions concerning women come up before the Indian Legislature that this demand must be met at one. The question of the "age of consent" is of extreme urgency and a couple of ladies will help materially in the right solution thereof. We hope Lord Irwin'n chivalry will not be smothered under his education and will compel his Government to be fair to the legitimate aspirations of the fair sex.

Shanti Devi Case

The Criminal case arising out of the conversion of Asagari Begum to Arya Samaj came to an end on 4th inst. The Magistrate discharged all the accused, of whom Swami Shraddhanand was one, as he held there was no case justifying the framing of charges under the several sections of the I.P.O. mentioned in his complaint by the complainant. In relation to Shanti Devi, the Magistrate opined that she

took her children with herself out of maternal love and the question as to the custody of those children was one which a competent Civil Court should adjudicate. The Associated Press Message regarding the conclusion of this case is fairly long one, although there is the trifling inexactitude about "acquittal" which, in law, can come only after charge are framed against the accused.

Hindu Mission

A message from Barisal says that under the auspices of the Hindu Mission, Calcutta, seven Indian Christians and four Musalmans were recoverted to Hinduism last week.

Sir Goswami of the Hindu Mission, now working in Assam Hills, has initiated into Hinduism 126 Christians and Non-Hindus formerly teagarden coolies residing near about Silghat. Swami Satyananda is going out on an extended tour in Assam to study the problem of the Assam Hill tribes and hopes to place the results of his inquiry before All-India Hindu Leaders during Christmas.

Karachi Hindu Sabha

Through the prompt action of Dr. G.T. Hingorani F.R.C.S., vice-president, Karachi Hindu Sabha, two Hindus (one of whom is a young doctor from U.P.) were saved from straying out of Hinduism. They are with the doctor who is putting himself in touch with their parents.

Appeal to Calcutta Hindus

A public meeting was held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta on 4th inst., Rai Jadunath Mazumdar presiding, in connection with the Patuakhali Satyagrah. An appeal was made to the Hindu citizens of Calcutta for men and money to help the Satyagrah. A few volunteers including Swami Sachidanand offered themselves for enlistment and some money was collected. Among the speakers were Shyamsundar Chakrawarty and Piyush Kanti Ghosh.

All-India Hindu Sammelan

A public meeting was held at the Albert Hall Calcutta on 5th instant under the Presidentship of Rai Jadunath Mazumdar M.L.C., C.I.E. and resolved that an All-India Hindu Mahasammelan be held at Gauhati during the Congress week. A provisional Reception Committee and a working Committee were elected with Babu Piyush Kanti Ghosh as the Organising Secretary and Babu Bhutnath Mukerjee as Assistant Secretary.

Renewed Energy

Speaking at the Senate House Madras, Professor Radhakrishnan maintained that God is a universal spirit and every being is His offspring. There are no illegitimate children of God. So far as Indian philosophy was concerned what they wanted was not so much Indian thought as Indian thinkers. The past must be utilised for building the future. If a religion or a philosophy did not move it meant only that its followers were not alive and brisk. He believed that they all were on the threshold of a New Era. Life is being renewed and that not by mere reproduction of ancient thought but by the remodelling of ancient ideals to suit modern needs. They must believe in their ideals to suit modern needs. There would be no hope for the country if their bodies were broken and their souls shattered. It was necessary for the people of India to acquire some national pride. Many had made void the commandments of God. They must think rightly and face all their problems. That was the message of the Gita. They all needed a renewed faith in thinking and a renewed energy to translate thought into action.

Manager's Notice

Our Subscription being payable in advance, it is urgently requested that the defaulting subscribers will pease remit to us the due subscription on receipt of this number.

To facilitate business subscribers are requested to mention in all correspondence with this office, the serial number marked on the wrapper.

In reference to the wishes of most of our new subscribers to keep regular files of the "Liberator" from the beginning, we can not fulfil their request, all back issues (April to September, 1926) having been exhausted.

Manager.

ELEVATE THE DEPRESSED

Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, who presided over the Andhra Social Reform Conference held at Ellore, made the following spirited and feeling speech on 28th ultimo :-

THE MENTALITY

One-sixth of our people are branded as depressed classes, outcastes, Pariahs, and untouchables. I hardly need remind you of the details of what all this means by way of ostracism and demoralisation. And behind these material facts an partly responsible for them the mentality that makes possible such a wholesale subjugation of our fellow beings. This perhaps is the very heart of the problem. It suggests a depressing class as well as a depressed classes. The one is the result of the other. I do not know who in articular is to blame for this mentality but that it exists and that it has become more or less a second nature, no one who is acquainted with the facts will deny. The idea of "Superiority" and "Inferiority" inculcated by the caste system with our any regard for the true facts, has also encouraged this mentality. If quality went with caste it would be different but as everybody know, it does nothing of the kind. The truth is that the whole thing is confused and unreal and when a thing is unreal, when it is in fact a farce, why hold no to it ? Why cling to a custom from prejudice when you know it is not even commonsense ? Why pay outward respect to a thing which in your heart you must despise ?

It may be, I am prepared to believe, there is

improvement in recent years but in spite of the various resolutions passed at confrences and inspite of the splendid example and influence of Mahatma Gandhi in this connection and of the work of the Congress, untouchability is still strongly entrenched.

Untouchability, unapproachability, inaudibility and invisibility, if I might use these expressions, are a crime against the nation. There is nothing like it now in any other country in the world. It did exist in Japan previous to the Reformation of 1868-71. But in 1871 as the result of a Royal Edict the very term pariah was abolished and the names of these people were placed on the general registers and their social position and methods of gaining a livelihood were made identical with those of the rest of the people. It has also been done in America with regard to the Negroes who number one fifth of the population of that country. They are now Americans first and Negroes afterwards. Both countries have made rapid strides since they took that step. I make bold to say that our treatment of the depressed classes is one of the main causes of our decline as a nation and that until we wipe out this curse we shall not make much headway. There is, however, a change in our attitude now and this is due partly to the splendid work of the Depressed Class Missions, partly to the work done by religious and missionary organisations and partly as the result of the spread of democratic ideas that have swept the world and are taking a concrete form in labour and other unions. There is an awakening amongst the Adi-dravidas themselves and attempts to suppress them any longer are dangerous. There is a limit to their patience and sufferings and that limit has been reached. When this limit was passed in France, there was born the Revolution and the reign of terror. The more recent explosion in Russia had the same origin. India, as history has abundantly proved, can have no more loyal and devoted sons than are to be found among the devoted sons than are to be found among the depressed classes but only continue the policy of

oppression long enough and they will be transformed into enemies. The famous words of Bhishma to King Yudhishthira : "Take care, O King, of the weak for the rears of the weak undermine the thrones of Kings" contain a significant message to us as a nation. We protest and rightly so, against the treatment meted out to our people in Kenya. Natal and other parts of the Empire, but we too have a responsibility at home. To talk of patriotism and love of country while at the same time cutting the throat of our national organism will not do.

Untoughability is a crime against humanity. I can understand poverty and the difference in circumstances and capacity but I cannot understand nor can I find any rational justification for the mentality that ostracises and regards as untouchable a large portion of our people. Whether we like it or not Brotherhood is a Law in nature. Any attempt to violate that Law-the only true basis of a social structure that can endure-must inevitably act disastrously on those who are foolish enough to make the attempt. In such ancient countries as Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome, the weak were trampled on and made slaves with the result that these nations were themselves broken to pieces. If India has survived, it is because she, at least in her ancient polity, respected this law. Whether this crime against humanity will ever be brought before the League of Nations, as lesser crimes have been brought forward there and suitable dealt with, I do not know, but the knowledge of these things must act as a handicap to our representatives and some day, unless we put our house in order, the inevitable exposure must come.

ESSENTIALS OF THE REMEDY

Having stated the problem and having to some extent diagnosed the disease in our social structure, let me now indicate what I consider to be the main outlines of essentials of the remedy. The first essential, as I see it, is a belief, amounting to a conviction, that the whole system of

untouchability and ostracism from A to Z is wrong-wicked I would call it-and must go. Belief and right thinking in this matter must precede action. Any attempt to solve this problem on any other grounds, on the grounds for instance of expediency or because it is an item in a party programme, will not get us very far. One must realise it in the heart as a crime against our brother, a crime against the nation and a crime against humanity.

There must be no taint of patronage in this matter, no feeling of condescension in order to ameliorate their lot. To give assistance to them in the way that a morsel of food is flung to a dog is degrading alike to the giver and to the receiver. There must be none of this. The work must be carried on from conviction as a national necessity and because it is inherently the right and humane thing to do. Obviously too, the workers must have outgrown all the stupidities of caste rule. A man, who is an observer of caste rules, is not likely to carry much weight in a work of this kind no matter how generously inclined he might be or however brilliant his intellect. Such a man is like one who sells hair-restorer but who has a facture conviction at will like one sells hair-restorer but who has a bald head himself. Of course one cannot manufacture conviction at will like one who manufactures an ordinary article of use; it is a thing that must grow and it can only grow in the soil of right thinking, right feeling and right action. I am not concerned with the philosophy of this growth; but I do suggest that the existence of this conviction and attitude in some reasonable degree is an indispensable condition of success.

The next essential is for these people to organise themselves. This to a large extent has been done in the formation of the Depressed Class Mission itself with its network of organisations. Every movement to be effective requires a certain amount of specialisation for which special study and special qualities of heart and head are needed. Such a movement will of course be ready to accept help

from whatever source be ready to accept help from whatever source it comes, but to succeed, it must have its own inherent vitality, its own principles and its own objective. Those who are likeminded will gravitate naturally to this movement, but the movement itself must be alert and ready to link up and make use of all those people and organisations that are known to possess progressive ideas. This vital piece of national work should not be left to the sweet will and pleasure of any good Samaritan. Behind them, urging, guiding and inspiring them must be this organisation consisting mainly, as I have said, of the type of men described. It must be the special business of this movement not merely to propagate ideas, not merely to afford practical relief and assistance, but primarily to abolish the stigma and shame of untouchability and to give to every child born in our land an equal opportunity and an equal status as a citizen and before the law. "God hath made of one blood all nations" say the Christian Scriptures and certainly it is true that God hath made of one blood all Indians. We have to understand that a member of the depressed classes is the proudest highcastemen.

The next step is education ; but to send socalled untouchable children to schools, in which the atmosphere of ostracism exists and where the mentality of the teachers and fellow-students if not their practice is orthdox, is no solution. Better a hundred times that they should be taught in their own schools by their own people or by those who are not handicapped by caste prejudices and restriction than that they should be admitted on sufferance to schools in which they are made to feel their position by a score of petty annoyances. The steady and firm application of a G.O. calling for equal treatment in all aided schools is a welcome measure and must be used to the utmost, especially in the higher grades of education, but in the lower it is rendered useless by the mentality mentioned. What is needed here more than a G.O. is the education of the intelligentsia. This can perhaps be done best by Conferences like this, by the

circulation of literature on the subject, by the efforts of the Congress and the workers in the various parties and by the nominated representatives of these people in the Councils.

I would also have as many institutions as possible to which Panchamas are not only admitted on an equal footing with others but in which interdining is compulsory. And of course in all schools for the depressed classes, vocational and manual training, suitable to the needs of the district, must be introduced and made compulsory and, as far as possible, free. One solution of the problem of indentured labour, which affects so many of these people, would be to revive our village industries and make it economically profitable for them to remain in their villages. Education should have this as one of its objectives. We must learn to think of education in terms of the whole of society and not selfishly in terms of the pats only. To neglect the education and training of the members of the depressed classes is not only inhuman but also economically unsound. Labour for instance in this country is admittedly inefficient and on that account troublesome and costly. It is so, because it is uninstructed and untrained. The country save perhaps a few lacs by denying these people education and then has to pay for it in crores by inefficiency. It is an smazingly stupid and shortsighted policy. Cannot we see that there is no national investment that would be so remunerative as money spent on the education of these people ? It has proved so in Japan and other nations. In this respect the national chain can never be any stronger than its weakest link. Then, there is one aspect of education which is open to all of us to participate in. I refer to the aspect of aspect of personal example. And in this respect except for the Government's well-known policy of divide and rule, the foreigner has perhaps done more for the education of our depressed classes than our own people. I submit that we can do this work better than foreigners if for no other reason than that we are of the same nationality. Why should not the better places Indian families, in which progressive

ideas are cherished, employ at least one Panchama servant? Many have made a beginning in this direction. I myself have followed this practice. Trouble, of course, there will be at first with the other servants and with the women also but it only requires the will and a little tact.

Another point I should like to stress in connection with education is the selection of teachers. As far as possible these must be drawn from amongst themselves. There will be no real solution of this problem until the depressed classes produce their own leaders and teachers in sufficient numbers at least to meet the more immediate need. But they cannot do this at first without assistance and to this end every member of this community who shows signs of promise should be given every encouragement and every facility for development to the utmost of his capacity. This can be done by a more liberal use of scholarships. But there should be special institution for the training of these people, at least up to a certain stage, institutions freed from the taint and curse of ostracism in which a more specialised training is given.

THE POLITICAL ASPECT

Then there is the purely political aspect. The galling and humiliating consciousness of being a subject people militates against initiative in social reform and tends to paralyse action. Therefore is it that the winning of Swaraj has an important bearing on this problem. To win political freedom must necessarily be a part of any costructive programme to help the depressed classes. This is a platform on which we can all join our efforts. There must be political representation not as at present by nomination but by election. This involves the question of widening the franchise so as to include a sufficient number of these people who would influence effectively all legislation on their behalf. Everywhere, the world over, the vote has proved and is proving a powerful factor in education and in social reform and it should be deliberately aimed at here in this connection.

This is what has happened in England with regard to the workers and the poorer classes. To raise one-sixth of our people to a point where they will be economically useful and profitable to the nation demands a far greater slice of the revenue for education. This can only be satisfactorily accomplished when their voice is effectively heard in the Legislature and under Swaraj. The goal can only be reached when we proceed along political as well as social and other lines.

[The Liberators, 9 December, 1926]

The Ordeals Aryasamaj Had To Pass Through

V

A Historical Document

CHAPTER IV

The Satyarth Prakash of Swami Dayanand is the Bible of the Aryasamaj. The philosophical ideas in the book are extremely crude and there is also an utter lack of spiritual reverence or fervour. (Tolstoi, in his later moments, become a Vanaprastha on reading the Satyarth Prakash. Its crude philosophy always silences the Padre and the Mullah and its spiritual teachings expose the mawkish sentimentality and maudlin hypocrisy of the canting priest. Ed.)

The principle underlying the whole book is "reform for the indigenous religion and extirpation for foreign religion. It is marked by want of moderation and sobriety in its criticism of opposing religions in the course of which it gives utterance to abuse and to remarks that are undoubtedly calculated to promote feeling of enmity and hatred between the community whose religion is so criticized and the Arya Samaj (the writer does not mention the Christian and Muhammadan tracts and books whose attacks on the ancient Arya Dharma Swami Dayananda refuted. Ed.)

There are in this book many passages which are some what objectionable and some of the more noticeable have been referred to below :

The sixth chapter of the Satyarth Prakash deals with the science of Government. It is difficult to understand what was Dayanand's objects in prescribing the form of Government for the state, unless it was for the guidance of the Indians when they secured independence. (It was a lesson for the whole world and since then Germany, Turkey and some of the other states have taken to the commonwealth from of Government. Ed.)

These directions are chiefly taken from the laws of Manu. The chapter closes with the invocation - "May we in this world through God's mercy be privileged to occupy Kingly and other high offices and may. He make us the means of advancing the Eternal justice. (But the writer has kept out the preceding passage which runs : - Thus have the duties of the rulers been briefly described........The (the rulers) should perfectly master the science and art of Government and rule one country of Empire or the whole world. Let all understand - "We are the subjects of the Universe - the King of Kings. He is the true King and we are all his humble servants." Ed.)

To this extent the sixth chapter bray be regarded as causing dissatisfaction towards the British Government and describing the Aryan system of Government perfect Well, Dayanand believed and the Aryans still believe their ancient system of Government perfect and the British would be rightly advised it they reform their system of government India as well as their Colonies and their Fatherland. Ed.)

There are moreover, references in this chapter to the necessity that the sovereign and ministers should be learned in the Vedas (they being the source of all knowledge. Ed.) and born in Swadesh Swaraj, that are difficult of other than literal interpretation.

The 8th chapter contains the following passages -

"At the present moment, let alone governing foreign countries, the Aryas through indolence, negligence and mutual discord and ill-luck do not possess a free, independent, uninterrupted and fearless rule even over their

own country. Whatsoever rule is left to them, is being crushed under the heel of the foreigner. There are only a few independent states left. When a country falls upon evil days, the natives have to bear untold misery and sufferings. Say what you will, the indigenous native rules is by far the best. A foreign Government, perfectly free form religious prejudice. Impartial towards all -the natives and foreigner - kind, beneficent and just to the natives like their parents though it may be, can never render the people perfectly happy."

This extract was particularly quoted by the defence in the case, King Emperor versus Ala Rarn dated 26-11-1902, in the course of which the loyalty of the Aryasamaj was impugned by the defendant Ala Ram, a preacher of the Sanatan Dharma and formerly an Arya, who had been charged with wholesale abuse of the Arya Samaj.

It was unfortunate that Ala Ram forfeited sympathy by the extravagance of his attack on and abuse of the Aryasamaj and that the Court had to decide, as the main issue, whether such conduct brought Ala Ram within the reach of the law or not. Ala Ram had exceeded the limits of lawful criticism and was convicted and his defence or counter charge, as it might be called, of disloyalty against Aryasamaj was treated as a side issue.

Mr. Harrison, the District Magistrate of Allahabad, in his judgment in the case remarked as follows : -

"Throughout these extracts I find no sign of any incitement to rebellion but rather a lament that the Hindus have, for very various reasons, religious and moral become a subject race. The general trend of Dayanand's preaching seems to be rather an exhortation to reform with, perhaps, a view to the ultimate restoration of the Government to native hands. " The prosecution would have represented the nature of the Satyarth Prakash more strongly and the opinion would probably have been differently expressed if the politics of the Aryasamaj had been more than merely a side issue of the case.

(The above shows the difference between a well-considered judicial pronouncement and the gabled and one-sided report of a police officer. Mr. Harrison gave a sound opinion because he had read the passage which followed, to the effect - "It is extremely difficult to do away with differences in language, religion education, customs and manner, but without doing that the people can never fully accomplish their object." The C.I.D. reporter cleverly gave only a half truth and decieved the Government. Ed.)

Chapter 10th of the Satyarth Prakash contains two objectionable passages : -

"The causes of foreign rule in India are mutual feud, differences in religion. - It is only when brothers fight among themselves that outsiders pose as judges - Mutual feuds ruined Kauravas, Pandavas and Yadavas in the past. The same fatal disease is still clinging to us - The Aryas are still treading the wicked path of the despicable low Duryodhana destroyer of his race-May God in His mercy rid us of this dreadful disease ! (There is nothing even in the above garbled and mutilated quotation which can be called objectionable, but fill up all the gaps and every British reader will be driven to respect the large-hearted patriot who wrote so nobly and feelingly. I quote the whole passage below : -

"It is extremely difficult for people to make any progress as long as their religion and their interests are not the same. Again they cannot progress when they do not rejoice in each others' joys nor sympathize with each others' affliction.......As long as they do not avoid evil things - manners, customs &c. and embrace good things, instead of making any progress they will go from bad to worse. The causes of foreign rule in India are : - Mutual feud, difference in religion, want of purity in life, lack of education, child marriage, marriage in which the contracting parties have no voice in the selection of their life - partners, indulgence in carnal gratification, untruthfulness and other evil habits, the neglect of the study of the Veda and other

malpractices. Have you people even forgotten the practices that were in vogue at the time of the Mahabharat war, a little over 5000 year ago ? In the war they - the soldiers -ate and drank even while riding or driving in cars. Mutual feud ruined the Kauravas, the Pandavas and the Yadavas in the past. The same fatal disease is still clinging to us. None knows whether this dreadful fiend will ever leave us or rob us of all our happiness and plunge us in the depths of misery. The Aryas are still treading the wicked path of the despicable low Duryodhana, the destroyer of his race and the enemy of his country. May God through His Mercy rid us, Aryas, of this dreadful disease." Only look how the whole reads now ! Ed.)

(2) When the Aryas were in power these most useful animals (cows) were never allowed to be killed. Consequently man and other living beings lived in great peace and happiness. But since the meat-eating and wine-drinking foreigners and the slayers of kine and other animals have come into this country and become the ruling powers, the trouble and suffering of the Aryas have since been on the increase.

Either of these is calculated to excite feelings of disaffection towards the British Government. (The above passage are calculated to inculcate affection towards the reform of our own people and if it excites any discontent with the foreign rulers, it is justifiable non-Co-operation, or in other words Responsive Co-operation Ed.)

Chapter 4 contains a passage : -

"There have been other mighty rulers who were Sovereign lords of the whole world चक्रवर्ती Chakravarti) such as Suddyamna, Bhuri Dyumna &c. What a pity the descendants of these Aryas being crushed under the heel of foreigners ! (-Mistranslated as this mutilated portion is, it still declares a fact which a reformer could not overlook in his exhortation to his countrymen to amend. Ed.)

The Satyarth Prakash in abusing the Christians identifies the Government and the Christians and the following two

extract from the Christians and the following two extracts from the Chapter on Christianity are calculated, if not intended, to excite feelings of enmity in Indians towards Government : -

(1) "If a white man kill a black man they generally adjudge him to be not guilty out of their partiality and acquit him of all blame." (It is a scandal against which the best Indian leaders have all along been protesting. Ed.)

(2) "It is on this account that the Christians fall upon property of the foreigners as a thirsty creature upon water and a hungry one upon food."

In a Judgment by the Sessions Judge of Peshawar, in case No. 6 of 1892, Mr. W.O.Clarke, in disposing of an appeal, in which the character of the Satyarth Prakash was at issue, recorded the opinion that the doctrines of Dayanand are such as to offend strongly against the sense of sanctity of Orthodox Hindus and also of most other religions.

In 1880 a State prosecution against the writer of the Satyarth Prakash would, probably, have been unsuccessful. If, however, the book were to have been published thirty years later, a prosecution against the writer would, probably, have resulted in a conviction, partly owing to the alteration of the Indian Penal Code in 1998 in respect of sections 124A, 153A. and 505 subsection C. and partly owing to the altered state of the country. The law does not require proof of intention in case of these charges. (It was, probably, a knowledge of this production of the C.I.D. that Christians and Muhammadans have frequently been pressing for the proscription of the Satyarth Prakash, and once a sub-Committee of five sat in London to think over the matter. But they came, obviously, to the conclusion that unless the Government was ready to proscribe the Bible and the Quran, it ought not to touch. Satyarth Prakash. Ed.)

CHAPTER V

It has been noted in the Chapter on Dayanand that as a social reformer he was a failure. It may also be said

that the Aryasamaj Movement has similarly failed to do much to materially reform the Hindu social system. As a reforming and protestant movement, it has made little headway against the conservatism of Hindu Society and it would seem as if it had designedly refrained from any active crusade and as if it trusted chiefly to the solvent influence of education on these. Those, who have carried on work after him, have recognized that the only direction, in which they could be uncompromising without jeopardising their existence as a community, was in their attitude towards Christianity and Islam and that any serious attack on the stronghold of caste would result in unpopularity. (But the detractors of the Arya Samaj at this moment can not be blind to the face that the citadels of the caste system are already crumbling and 90 P.C. of the orthodox are ready for all reform in the same. This is due to lead given by the Aryasamajists in celebrating intercaste marriages. Ed.)

As indicating the striving for popularity an article in a Punjab newspaper called the "Hope" of the 11th December 1887 describing the Aryasamaj of that time as "the only popular reforming body" may be referred to. It will be seen that, as at present constituted, the Aryasamaj offers only advantage to its converts. (Because it was a Hindu Protestant body. Ed.) It does not require the high caste convert to publicly renounce his caste while it offers the mane of lower caste the attraction of renouncing his former caste and of describing himself as an Arya (noble). (The writer ignores the fact that Dayanand called all Hindus to be Aryas. Ed.).

During the last four years the Aryasamaj has been very active in proselytising work, particularly through the medium of the branch of Arya Pratinidhi Sabha known as Bharatiya Shuddhi Sabha, having effected a conversion to the Arya Samaj of a number of new-Muslims, of a few Muhammadans and of a few Christians. The activity of the Shuddhi movement in permitting the inclusion in the Aryasamaj of Christians and of Muslims is a new departure. (The Muslim

leaders should not that Mass reconversion of Nau-Muslims was not a new a new departure in 1923. Only, it was adopted by the Orthodox Hindu classes and masses in 1923. Ed.)

By the innovation a Hindu, who has forfeited his caste, which meant to him his social position in his community, by espousing the Christian or the Muslim faith, is without expense or exertion on his part welcome back as Hindu by the Arya Samaj. This concession is a considerable one, and recently evoked commendation from Moulvi Khan Bahadur Zakaullah Khan of the liberal mindeness of the Aryasamaj in removing restrictions against the readmittance of men of other religions into the Hindu fold. This commendation is possibly the only recent public expression of appreciation of the Aryasamaj by a Muhammadan. There is no doubt that the Aryasamaj has done much indirectly for the social reform, by the spread of education and particularly by encouraging female education. Apart from its influence as a reforming body on the society, the Aryasamaj is, by reason of its organisation, a very potent social force in the direction of promoting social intercourse among the educated Hindus. For several year past, all important towns in the Northern India have had their Aryasamaj meeting houses, which are open to their members for social intercourse as well as for religious ceremonies. Men are essentially gregarious creatures and educated men more than others experience the desire for social intercourse.

There are very few Indian Social Clubs in Northern India, most of the large towns are without them and there is little doubt that this natural desire of educated Indians for the opportunity of social intercourse with other educated men and to read the newspapers has induced a large proportion of members of the Aryasamaj to join that Community. The branches of the Aryasamaj in the District Head Quarters and Tehsil towns all have a large number of Government servants among their members and these would certainly have joined a secular and purely social club if such a club had existence and could have been used by

them at so little cost of money or principles as the Aryasamaj. In thus throwing the educated community into the association, many members of which had not joined the association from religious conviction and the object of the Aryasamaj being the improvement of the country with a view to its ultimate freedom from the foreign yoke, it is natural that these Aryasamajes should become in many places nothing more or less than clubs where politics are discussed more than any other subject.

GAUHATI AND UNITY

East is the direction from which light begins for us of this Earth. Calcutta gave us the clarion-call of "Swaraj" sounded by Dadabhai Naoroji. In 1917 Calcutta sounded the demand that Swaraj must be established within fifteen years and the Thunderer of Bengal made it. In 1920 Calcutta sounded the drum of Noncooperation. Gauhati is still farther east. As if to set all doubts at rest, Mahatma Gandhi has wired to the President-elect that he will be going to Gauhati by 24th inst. We may, therefore, take it that the Indian National Congress will be fortified and steps will be taken to devise some programme that will engage the attention of the nation as such.

It is not to the interests of any body, except of course the bureaucracy, that the Indian National Congress should be weakened. The strength of any political party - or even any communal party- depends on the strength of the Indian National Congress. Even out of selfish interests, other parties and organisation Indian, should help to strengthen and expand that body. When it suited Government, even Sir Denys Brady patted the Swaraj Party on their backs. Why should the other parties not take a leaf out of the book of the bureaucracy ?

Elections have been fought and won or lost. Now what is the use of stressing those stunts which have exhausted their utility ? The successes as well as the defeats are facts. Put them behind and face the future. Those, who aspire

to achiever anything through the instrumentality of Legislative Bodies, must see that they have to find out some ways and means to bring together different groups of members elected to those bodies in order to form a strong Opposition. Keeping up the pre-election quarrels is an unskilful game. For three years - in a way very important three years - these are the persons to man those bodies, whether you to on condemning this lot or that lot. A good workman ought not to quarrel with his tools. Wealth need not be a disqualification in a member of the Legislative Assembly, because if wealth were a crime, Pandit Motilal would be an ex-criminal and the President - elect would be a criminal. Let bygones be bygones. We should ask Pandit Motilalji to take defeat in good part and to look to the future. Even a Magistrate of Pabna refused to overdo the stunt of communal estrangement. Our Swarajist Brothers can not do better than putting a lid on the communal stunt. That way lies the prospect of deriving some good from the Legislative Bodies.

What must be most earnestly attempted at Gauhati is to revitalise the constructive programme not so much for the threat of Civil Disobedience as for its own sake. You will not be able to march to Swaraj on stunts and sensations. The path to Swaraj is solid uplift work in relation to the people in general. It is not the two or three percent but the ninetyseven percent who must be looked to. Our friend Mr. Bharucha has asked for a programme relating to Swadeshi, intercommunal unity, removal of untouchability etc. Even the success of the legislators will depend on the stamina and powers of resistance of the people in general. A programme must be devised and worked, which will call forth at least a little effort for the nation from forth at least a little effort for the nation from every adult. We hope and trust Gandhiji will take the lead and revitalise the nation as he alone can.

We shall repeat to the President-elect that we expect of him an unequivocal expression as to the rights of the

socalled untouchables who form a fifth of the whole Indian Nation. You cannot erect political equality on the foundation of social inequality. Again the Indian National Congress stands for "peaceful and legitimate means" being used for attaining "Swaraj." If sixty millions out of three hundred continue to be where they are today, the means used to improve the political status of the country will be of questionable legitimacy.

A Hero Dead

The Riff Hero is rotting in the "Renown". Osman Digna has stopped rotting and gone to Him. He was a victim of the British policy in Soudan. We saw Abdel Krim defying Spain for five years an even France and Spain for some time. The Sudanese hero defied the British benefactors of the world led by distinguished generals like Gordon, Graham and Kitchner for seventeen years. And was it heroism of these warriors that vanquished Osman Digna ? A fellow tribesman of the hero betrayed him- a tale all too familiar to us - in 1900. These twentysix years he rotted at Wadi Haifa as a political prisoner, a sacrifice at the altar of Imperialism. To him death is no evil. He had been in a living grave. Now only his dead body is in a grave ; while his freedom loving soul must be soaring high in the ecstatic enjoyment of the muchcoveted freedom.

Thoughts for all time

"We have learned that peace comes from honest men trusting one another and war very often from honest men distrusting one another." Prof. Gilbert Murray.

"There is nothing more permanently demoralising to a nation than passive acquiescence in unmerited suffering." - W.E. Gladstone.

Music Before Mosques

Mr. Justice Wallace delivered judgment at Madras in the Criminal Revision Petition preferred by one Guddam

Venkatasubba Reddi on behalf of the citizens of Nellore against the order of the District Magistrate of Nellore passed under Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting Hindus from conducting a procession with music during the Dassarah holidays apprehending a breach of the peace by Mahomedans.

The facts of the case are that the Hindus of Nellore applied to the District Magistrate on 31-7-26 for permission to celebrate Dassarah by taking in procession the idol of Anjanayasami with music through the streets of Nellore Town past some mosques for a period of 3 days. The Hindus had already obtained a decree in the District Munsiff's Court in 1917 declaring their right to conduct a procession.

Mr. Justice Wallace passed the following Order : - It is the obvious duty of the Executive to afford the civil rights declared by its own Civil Court. Any omission to do that is a confession of the failure of their duty. No doubt the interests of the public peace are paramount. But when as in this case, the District Magistrate must have been aware that there would be probably a disturbance of the petitioner's civil rights at recurring seasons every year, it is his duty to exhaust every measure at his disposal to uphold their declared rights before he abandons his attempts. He should resort to Section 144 only when there is no time and no opportunities for any other course. It is not a proper course to do nothing to meet the crisis and then use Section 144 to tide over the crisis. In this case the District Magistrate ought to have taken proceedings sufficiently early under Section 107 for binding over the Mahomedans to keep the peace. With these directions for future guidance the Judge dismissed the petition, because the Magistrate's order was no longer in force, the period for which it was promulgated having expired.

Sir P.C. Roy said at Mysore : -

"At Dacca there was a temple near the university built in the time of Jehangir and within a stone's throw of the temple was a big Masjid. In the temple in the evenings

music and processions went on and about the same time the mahomedans were done Namaz in the Musjid."

Mr. Abdul Aziz, who has been elected to the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council, said in one of his election speeches at Patna : -

"Alike from the point of view of religion and commonsense, the demand for stoppage of music before mosques could not be sustained. I am proud Patna Musalmans raised no objection to the recent Dussera Processions."

Patuakhali Satyagraha

The Satyagraha of Patuakhali is continuing. The 100th Day was celebrate with great enthusiams on 8th inst. The leader Satin Babu has been released. Now help is coming from many quarters, except from the Southern province, in which the High Court is with Hindus in safeguarding their rights. A joint meeting of Hindus and Musalmans was held regarding this question but it was so disturbed that Police had to intervene and keep heads from breaking.

Musalmans Indignant

A public meeting of Musalmans was held at Lucknow and passed inter the following Resolutions : -

" This meeting of Musalmans of Lucknow expresses its profound grief and strong indignation at the barbarous behaviour of Ibn Saud's army whose members brutally fell upon a group of men going to pay their visits to the holy tomb of the Prophet, calling them "idol worshippers and 'Peer parast' and killing and wounding a number of them."

"This meeting of Musalmans of Lucknow expresses its sense of strong aversion and disgust at this direct interference in religious affairs that only Wahabi Imams are being appointed by their Government to conduct prayers in the mosques of Nejd and Hedjaz and that at a meeting of bigoted Wahabis in Nejd it has been resolved to propagate Wahabi tenets by force of arms and to forcibly convert other Musalmans into Wahabism."

A Privy Councillor's Opinion

The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri writes in the "Servant of India" dated 18-11-26 as follows : -

"I cannot join in the hostile criticism which fails to distinguish Sir Malcolm Hailey and his school of civilians from the other and perhaps more numerous school which would play one community against another and take advantage of the dissension."

"In the Punjab, while the ministry has not been on-communal lines, the administration is marked by a distinct bias which may be described either as wholly communal or as partly communal and partly sectional, meaning by the latter the peculiar distinction which the Punjab has developed of rural as against urban interests."

Communal Representation

The following Resolution was unanimously passed by the Indian Christian Association of Almora : -

"That this Association views with great alarm the resolution recently passed at Allahabad by the Provincial Christian Conference and this Association also thinks it detrimental to the best interests of the nation and the country."

Brahmins and Depressed Classes

A illustrious Brahmin ex-Dewan Peshkar of Travancore, Mr. Nagamiah's words are quoted below : -

"The heroism of raising the low from the slough of degradation and debasement is an element of civilization unknown to Brahmanic India. The Brahmin community of Southern India are not doing to the lower classes what the casteless Britisher is doing for them. The credit of this philanthropy, of going to the home of the low, the distressed and the dirty-putting the shoulder to the wheel of depraved humanity, belongs to the Englishman. I do not think the Brahmins, or even the high-caste non-Brahmins, can claim

the credit. It is a glory reserved to this century (the 19th Century) of human progress-the epoch of the commingling of the civilization of the West with that of the East."

In the course of a speech on "National Reconstruction" Sir P.C. Roy said : -

"The Madrasee Brahmin is very intelligent, but he keeps his intelligence safely under lock and key in one compartment of his brain and treasurer in the other his caste-exclusiveness and scruples."

Adi-Dravidas

A meeting of the Adi-Dravidas of Chintadripet and its suburbs was held in the Napier's Park, Chintadripet on 12-12-26 to protest against the failure of the Government of Madras to nominate Mr. R.Veerian to the Local Council. Nationalistic among the Adi-Dravidas.

Representation of Untouchables

Mr. Rayadu Gangayya, Secretary, West Godavary Adi-Andhra Association, Ellore, writes : -

The Adi-Andhra of this place protest strongly against unjust nominations made for Madras Legislative Council recently. The West Godavari District Adi-Andhra Committee emphatically protests against the entire exclusion of the Adi-Andhra representation on the Local Legislative Council. : 3 lakhs of Adi-Andhras have neither election franchise nor any nominated member. The Christian community already possessing elected representatives are again given a nomination. The Adi-Andhras feel grossly insulted by this wanton neglect of the Adi-Andhras' claims.

Dalit Uddhar Conference

According to the announcement already made, a conference of the Depressed Classes was held at Katwal on 11th and 12th inst. under the auspices of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha, Delhi. Owing to the illness of Swami Shraddhanandji who was to have presided, the conference was presided

over by Swami Ramanand, Secretary of the Dalit Uddhar Sabha. Among those who spoke were Swami Chidanand, Secretary of the Bharatiya Hindu Shuddi Sabha and Pandit Ramchandra. In his presidential address Swami Ramanand forcefully drew the attention of the Depressed Classes as well as the socalled high castes to assert their rights and stand on their own leys. An appeal was made for funds and Rs. 106 were collected on the spot. Resolutions were passed asking for representation on the Provisial Council and on the Local Bodies and protesting against professional tax and Police Zoolum.

Leaders of the Brahmo Samaj

All inquirers of religious thought and lovers of Social readjustment on just lines will be deeply interested in the book called "The Leaders of the Brahmo Samaj" and published by G.A. Natesan & Co. Madras (price Rs. 1/8). This is fair record of the lives and achievements of the pioneers of that movement. A history of the Brahmo Samaj was published in two volumes by the late Pundit Sivanath Sastri, who desired to write a third giving the lives of Brahmo leaders. The pandit did not live to do it and the present volume is meant to fulfil the Pandit's aim, as it contains a record of the doings of Brahmo leaders since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy ; that is to say it is a narrative of the social, religious educational and philanthropic activities of the pioneers of the Brahmo movement. Apart from its biographical interest, the volume is enriched with an exposition of the philosophy and tenets of Brahmoism as interpreted by the leaders who preached and made the new Faith popular. The copious extracts from their writings and speeches, which are given in the book, add considerably to its usefulness.

THE 18d. RATIO

While all important countries of the world have striven to re-establish the prewar ratio of their exchange, it is only

the Indian Government with their 'benevolent' intentions, that think it wise to fix our exchange at 18d. instead of 16d, the prewar ratio. The arguments adduced by the Government in favour of this higher rate are : -

1. It would save India from additional taxation which would be necessary at 16d. exchange in order to meet home charges.
2. The lower exchange will mean higher prices in India and consumers of imports will be hit thereby.
3. Wage-earners will feel the pinch of higher prices if exchange is fixed at 16d.
4. Prices in India have adjusted to the 18d. ratio and a reversal to the prewar ratio will disturb the economic peace of the country.

The above arguments, though perhaps apparently very convincing, will not stand examination. We take them in order : -

1. No doubt higher exchange means a saving in Home Charges ; but it is at the expense of the producer (the agriculturist forming 71 per cent of India's population) who obtains lower prices for his products. According to Mr. Madon a saving of Rs. 7 crores in Home Charges to the Government means a loss to the producers of the country to the tune of Rs. 70 crores. In other words the producer realises Rs. 70 crores less as the fruits of his labour while the happy consumer of imports, the wealthier class, spends 70 crores less on his luxuries. The poor man is thus made poorer and the rich richer. Do not the Government find more honest and humane way of getting these 7 crores of rupees, so that the poor producer of India may not be deprived of tentimes the amount ? No other country would have tolerated such exploitation of the poor for the sake of the richer classes and the foreign residents in India. But alas, the Indian cultivator is too ignorant to realise the significance of our Government's exchange policy. He never has the slightest suspicion that he is robbed of 12½ per cent of the value of his products.

2. When this fact is brought to the notice of the Government, they say that if we keep down exchange at 16d., prices will rise by 12½ per cent and the consumer will, therefore, have to pay so much more. But why should the producer make so much sacrifice for the consumer who is benefited at his expense ? And who is the lucky consumer that is benefited ? He is the user of those goods imported from foreign countries like England Japan, Germany etc. In other words the imports from foreign countries receive a bounty of 12½ per cent and foreign industries are indirectly helped to that extent, while our own industries are perishing through the competition of imports. Perhaps this slogan of cheap pries under higher exchange, which has been put forward by Government whenever there is a discussion on the exchange policy, has been carried too far. It acts as a double-edged sword that cuts both ways to their advantage. It not only gives a bounty to the products imported from the country of our Rulers, but by keeping down the prices of imported articles, the consumer of same - the most vociferous part of India's population - is kept satisfied. And to that extent the apparent discontent of the educated classes of India is removed. But what about the decaying industries of India that are suffering from the competition of bounty-fed imports, and the consequent unemployment ?

3. However say our Government that if we bring down exchange to 16d. the wage-earners will feel the pinch of higher prices that will ensue from such a step. But are cheaper prices the only criterion of a people's happiness ? If so the American people should be enjoying the most miserable lot amongst the nations of the world. However, it is quite the reverse in their case. Higher prices are but a lesser evil and the reader can very easily judge which of the two is desirable. Is it desirable that our industries should go to ruin on account of the keen competition of foreign goods and thus cause widespread unemployment - that our agriculturists (71 percent of our population) should be deprived of 12½ percent of the value of their products and

consequently not realise even the cost of production though nature has endowed them with favourable monsoons ? Or is it desirable that the consumer should pay a little more for the articles he requires ? Especially the consumer of foreign articles, the dweller in cities, will be more inconvenienced than any body else, for our villager hardly uses any foreign goods. But our Government have the interests of this consumer more at heart and the poor villager is left to take care of himself.

4. In their defence our Government say that prices have mostly adjusted to the 18d. ratio and a reversal to the prewar ratio of 16d. will upset the financial equilibrium in India. This is, however, for from the truth. Where has adjustment come in ? Are railway rates in India reduced by 12½ percent? Have Government servants been made to accept a cut of 12½ percent in their salaries? Have Government declared that there will be a reduction of 12½ percent in the land revenue received by them ? If not, where has adjustment come in ? Perhaps the economic disturbance, of which the Government are afraid, is that by a reversal to 16d. exchange the foreign imports will be discouraged and the exports of India will increase.

On the other hand, see how the 18d. Ratio affects the agriculturist. Debts contracted in India in prewar time when the exchange was at 16d., are increased by 12½ under the new 18d ratio. Our agriculturist, who is hardly free from the meshes of the money-lender, is thereby mulcted, because without his knowing, his debt is raised by 12½ percent and the professional money-lender gains to that extent. The rural debt of Indian is estimated at 800 crores. Hence at one stroke and without the knowledge of the ignorant debtor class, Government raise his debts by 12½ percent. Not only that, but the interest charges which the debtor has to pay are enhanced to that extent every year which means an extra burden of 10 crores more on the poor rural worker.

The last and the most important argument against the 18d. ratio is that it was an artificial rate attained by the

present Finance Member under pressure from the Secretary of State for India. In 1924 Indian exchange had dropped to 16d. but the Indian Government were forced to contract Currency in India by the order of the Secretary of State and through a process of repeated deflation, which has cost India heavily and crippled bear industries, the higher ratio of 18d. was attained. No body knows in whose interests this was done. At least it has brought no prosperity to India inspite of four good monsoons. No country in the world would have lost the opportunity of fixing its exchange at prewar level has it been possible. But our Government had perhaps the interests of importers too much at heart to take advantage of the opportunity offered in 1924. And now when they have artificially rigged up the exchange to 18d. by starving the currency needs of India for a gradual expansion of trade, they call it the 'natural' ratio. Such a display of benevolent talent has no parallel in the currency history of the world. And even now, while they are talking of the 18d. ratio as the 'natural' one, they are sparing on efforts to prop up the exchange so high artificially by a deflation of 25 crores during current year. This is the case inspite of a good monsoon. Then what guarantee is there that they will be able to keep up the 18d. ratio in a lean year when her exports shrink considerably ? It would be more feasible for Government to maintain a 16d. ratio at such times, while the maintenance of the 18d. ratio will require a repetition of the disastrous Reverse Council Bills policy which has in the past robbed India of her crores. It is very likely that, as Government failed to prop up exchange at 2 sh. inspite of frantic efforts to do so, in the same way they will be unable to maintain exchange at 18d. in a famine year.

In the words of Sir Purshotamdas, one asks " Where is the necessity for such an experiment ? In whose interests is such an experiment being made ? The agriculturist is being hit all round. The industries of the country are put to extreme test. The commercial community is complaining of continued

depression. The wage-earner is getting more and more on the unemployment list. The middle-classes of the country, of whom the Government of India hardly every think, are deplorably hid, and unemployment among them is increasing to an extent which does no credit to the Government. Who in India is being benefited by a policy which has brought about all this ? What is the good of maintaining that there are no special interests for which this policy is being persisted in ? Why did the India Office want a higher rate than 1sh. 6d., and why had the Finance Department of the Government of India to beseech them to stop the pushing up of exchange beyond 1sh. 6d, and why had the Finance Department of the Government of India to beseech them to stop the pushing up of exchange beyond 1sh. 6d. ? I know the consumer is a handy person to trot out because he cannot be approached. Can anybody distinguish him from the producer ? Will the Finance Member name any country where it has been sought to benefit the consumer at the expense of the producer ?"

The frantic propaganda that Sir Basil is carrying on for the 18d ratio is only helping to draw the attention of even those who might otherwise have been hoodwinked. His insistence on calling it a 'dead' issue has only brought forth the response that it is a "live and kicking" issue. Surely if it were a dead issue, why not simply repeat "may he rest in peace." ? Why wander about from centre to centre and seek every available platform to refute the arguments of Sir Victor Sassoon and Sir Purushotamdas ? That is not the best way to prove the ratio a 'dead' issue. Perhaps Sir Basi means that the India Office is with him. Why ! Sir Purushotamdas has said, the India office would support even a higher ratio. That is not going to enable the ratio to be a 'dead' issue. Even buried corpses are nowadays disinterred, Sir Basil may know. Indeed the attempt of the India Office to present a "fait accomplı" to an anxious public has only roused the Indian public in general to the seriousness of the question. Why does Sir Basil imagine " Speculation

" to be active ? Why the anxiety to restrict "Reverse Councils" to "approved parties"? Sir Basil may be looked upon as an unerring, omniscient finacier in 'certain' circles. That will however, prove no more effective outside the charmed circle, than spiritual communication outside a seance.

In a way this unjustifiable interference by the Government of India with the "Exchange" will prove a blessing if it brings home to the capitalists the lesson that the panacea of all the ills of the country is the establishment of a system of Government which will be responsible to people and can be made and unmade by the people. Hitherto the wealthy classes have, in a majority, held aloof from the national movement. Will they, hereafter, identify themselves with it ?

[The Liberators, 16 December, 1926]

Om. Reg. No. L.

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In and out of the Congress.

Long before the first Congress met in the name of the Indian nation, and a few oligarchs passed certain resolutions in a drawing room in Bombay, I was a regular student of the Pioneer and the Lahore Tribune. I knew as much about the political movements in the country as a citizen was expected to know.

[illegible] start a national political society was, probably, in September 1885 A. D., when Mr. Allan O'Hume made a tour through India for inducing educated Indians to join the new movement. Mr. Hume brought out a pamphlet with the title—"Star in the East"—and went round distributing it and interviewing prominent Indians with a view to enlisting their sympathy for the new movement. I was, then, in Lahore attending lectures for my final examination in law and had become a member of the Aryasamaj. Mr. Hume found that he was not trusted by the Indian gentlemen there. Some put him off with the excuse that they had no leisure, others promised to think over the matter. If any one of them was taken unawares and promised to join the movement he was sure to send an apologetic letter the next day with some pretext to back out of his promise.

Mr. Hume was much put out at his failure to secure the sympathy of the Panjabis. Full of energy, he set up an inquiry and found that the mischief was done by an Aryasamajist M. A. who held a respectable post under the British Government. Failing to obtain materials for exposing the gentleman publicly, the impulsive Mr. Hume wrote to the President of the Lahore Aryasamaj, protesting against an atheist "being treated as a

After that a few intellectuals from all parts of the country met under the presidentship of the late Mr. W. C Bonnerji and laid the foundation of a patriotic oligarchy under the title of "the Indian National Congress." I followed the proceedings of the Congress—as it was called—and its activities with great attention.

In 1888 A. D. I came in [illegible] session of the Congress was to be held in the last week of December 1888 at Allahabad. Sir Auckland Colvin was Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, of which Allahabad was the capital. Sir A. Colvin issued a secret circular prohibiting Government servants from joining the Congress and placed other obstacles in its way. Mr. Hume wrote a stringent letter of protest putting straight, inconvenient questions to the Governor who wrote a strong reply and sent it to the Press.

No sooner was the Lieutenant Governor's printed reply received by Mr. Hume at Simla than a counter-reply was prepared within 12 hours which appeared in pamphlet form covering some 80 printed pages. It was a crushing rejoinder and roused the Indian community to a sense of their duty. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's anti-Congress Muslim (miscalled Patriotic) League had already come into existence and was strengthening the hands of the beaurocracy in their divide and rule policy.

Both the Congress and the anti-Congress propaganda were pushed on in the Panjab. Kali Babu, then sub-Editor of the Lahore Tribune, was deputed to establish a Congress Committee at Jalandhar City where I was practising as a

First Page of "The Liberator"

गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द अनुसंधान प्रकाशन केन्द्र के प्रकाशन

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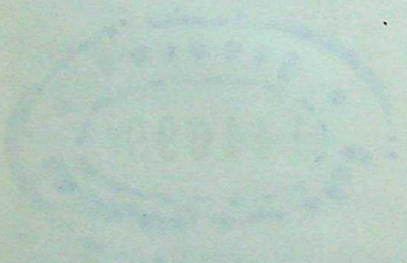
Swami Shradhananda was pioneer in girl's education, the leader of the Gurukul section of the Arya Samaj and the founder of the famous Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, Haridwar, He was a true disciple of Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. He was a nationalist and an ardent patriot. He had an immense faith in the principles of Arya Samaj. He gave great value to Vedic and Sanskrit studies and was a pioneer in imparting instructions in Hindi at the collegiate level.

He was a great journalist and edited three weekly papers called he *Saddharma Pracharak, "The Shraddha"* and *'The Liberator"* in Urdu, Hindi and English languages respectively. Through these weekly papers he played a vital role in the anti-Rowlatt agitation, Hindu-Muslim unity, Shuddhi-movement against conversion, removal of untouchability, rejuvenation of Hinduism and Swaraj-Movement etc.

He was born in the same year (1856) when American President Wilson, Lord Halden of England, English dramatist George Shaw and Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak were born. Like all these great personalities of the world Swamiji was also interested in the values of education and spiritual sublime ideology.

His 27 editorials and critical comments on the national organisation cover the main issue of contemporary politics of the country. The themes of his editorials are Non-Co-operation Movement; of Hindu-Society, The medium of education, Trivandrum-Satyagraha, riots of Calcutta, Shuddhi Movement, The Communal aspects, The theory of rebirth and Karma, Adi-Hindu Achhut Sabha, Mahatama Gandhi on Hinduism, the spirit of Unity, Liberation from system, Hindu Women's Widow marriage, Hindu Muslim Unity etc.

Swami Shraddhananda with Mahatma Gandhi

Delegates of Amritsar Congress - 1919

This congress session of Amritsar was held under the presedentship of Swami Shraddhananda. Picture shows Eminent congress leaders sitting on chairs from right to Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, Annie Besant Swami Shraddhanand, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Balgangadhar Tilak, lower side sitting from left to Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru.